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THE ROCKET-BATTERY IN FULL PLAY.
From a picture in the possession of Captain Mackinnon, painted by J. M. Gilbert, Marine Painter, Lymington.

London: Published by Charles Ollier, 1848.

STEAM WARFARE

IN THE PARANA:

A NARRATIVE OF OPERATIONS

BY THE

COMBINED SQUADRONS OF ENGLAND AND FRANCE,
IN FORCING A PASSAGE UP THAT RIVER.

32895

BY

COMMANDER MACKINNON, R.N.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

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STEAM WARFARE IN THE PARANA.

CHAPTER I.

Superstition—A Coincidence—The Spell dissolved—View of the Enemy—False Alarm—Friendly Visit—Welcome Supply of Provisions—The buried Battery—Eager Expectation—The signal Gun—Placing the Rockets—Pointing the Tubes—Approach of Squadron—Trying the Range—The Effect—The Enemy's Fire—Battery A'blaze—The Firebrand—Harmless Shots—Narrow Escape—Retiring—The Divisions.

At two o'clock all hands were roused, the boat thoroughly cleaned out, and arms inspected.

Having a few minutes to spare, we passed them in talking over our chances of success, indulging now and then, in a few retrospec-

tions to our friends in England. I was conversing with one of the party, as gallant a fellow as ever breathed, but who, like most men brought up to the sea, had unbounded faith in omens, prognostications, coincidences, and other concomitants of superstition. He was, at this moment, under the influence of what he considered to be a fatal juncture of time and place; and after the point of duty had been discussed, addressed me as follows:

"Do you think, sir, the convoy will come down to-day?"

"I hope so," returned I. "Why do you ask?"

My companion, now looked at me with a very grave countenance, and, to my mystification, replied,

"Why, sir, to-day is the third of June."

"Well I know that. What of it?"

Some reluctance was evinced in replying to my question. At last, he said

"I hope the action will not take place till to-morrow."

"Why not?" asked I, rather astonished.

"Because if it does, sir, I shall be killed."

"What makes you think so?"

"Why," returned he, "it is my child's birth-day."

"Well," I observed, "that is singular enough. I was just thinking it is *my* child's birth-day, and congratulating myself on that very account, inasmuch as we shall make a grand 'flare up' to celebrate it."

"That may be, sir," responded my companion; "but, nevertheless, should we be in action to-day, I shall be killed,—I am certain of it."

Smiling at the superstitious weakness of so undaunted a fellow, I attempted to rally him out of his belief by saying

"Well, if it is any comfort to you, I

promise faithfully to dispose of your body in any way you might wish."

"What do you mean, sir?"

"Why, you shall have your choice of earth, fire, or water."

"I don't understand you, sir," responded he.

"Not understand me!" I echoed. "Then to speak more plainly, you shall either be buried, burnt, or chucked into the river, whichever you please, upon my honour!"

But to him, the subject appeared to be too solemn for joking; and, in a deprecatory tone, he begged me not to talk in that manner.

So much for the effects of superstition. We did not, however, have our fight until the following day, and thus the spell was dissolved.

I now proceeded with the relief to Lieutenant Barnard, who had the look-out on

the enemy's motions. It was difficult to get over the brow without being seen. This was so hazardous, that to avoid any unnecessary risk of discovery, none but the officers were allowed to pass, the sentries being kept farther back, lying well hidden in some thick bushes. However, after a few minutes of careful progress, I joined Lieutenant Barnard in the gully. Here, for the whole afternoon, we enjoyed a full view of all the enemy's operations, and of course profited greatly in being enabled to direct our rockets the following day to the greatest advantage.

We were extremely entertained by observing the enemy's general, Moncellia, brother-in-law to Rosas, inspecting the whole line of batteries, gun by gun. He commenced at the lower end, and drove up in a carriage-and-four with his staff and outriders. The whole cavalcade were for a

considerable time completely exposed within range of our rockets; but we knew too well the great effect of our fire if reserved for the proper moment, to be tempted into any premature movement, but contented ourselves with narrowly watching, with our spy-glasses, every proceeding of the enemy during the inspection.

As soon as the shades of night closed in, the whole party were called down; each division took its own apparatus, and in the course of an hour had buried everything connected with the rockets and geer in the positions chosen during daylight. All hands now returned to the boat, and were extremely glad to crawl under the tarpaulin, as it was excessively cold, the covering being frozen quite hard.

About nine o'clock, the upper sentry came crawling in, and reported that he heard the splash of oars, and very soon

the dull, measured sound of muffled oars was distinctly audible to all. We felt, however, perfectly convinced that it could be no other than a friendly messenger from the squadron, come to make inquiries after our welfare; but, as it might have been an unwelcome visitor, the arms were carefully prepared for action, though every person except the officers, still remained concealed under the tarpaulin.

Just as the preparations were complete, a four-oared gig glided slowly by, and Mr. Baker was observed standing up in the stern sheets looking wistfully towards the sandy beach; but nothing whatever could he perceive, although the starboard bow oar of the gig splashed the water in my face. Just as the gig was passing, I whistled, and said "Gorgon;" upon which Mr. Baker immediately pulled in. All this

time I had one leg on the gunnel of the boat, and the other on land, the gunnel being flush with it; my attitude therefore resembled that of one standing sideways half into a bush; and so completely deceived Baker, that he said, "But where on earth have you put the boat?" This was immediately answered by a low, smothered laugh from the concealed men, which revealed her whereabouts.

The party were all much pleased by the kind messages from the squadron, which were not altogether confined to mere wishes, as an extra supply of cooked provisions and grog was brought, and found not too much for the party after their severe exposure and work. A large sail also proved to be a very great addition to the men's comfort, as the intense cold rendered it impossible to sleep without good covering. Mr. Dillon the master of the Alecto, in

the goodness of his heart had prepared a huge mess of hot Irish stew to send down to his messmates on the island, quite forgetting it would become cold on the passage. He sent also a large tin of preserved salmon ready opened, which was immediately and greedily attacked, and devoured. The gig soon left us, Mr. Baker being desirous of relieving the anxiety of Sir Charles Hotham, Captains Hope and Austen, and the officers of the squadron, touching the welfare of the party.

The breeze gradually coming round to the north, the party began to look forward with confidence to the convoy's passage next morning; and as hitherto their efforts had been so successful, and the most difficult parts of the enterprise overcome, all hands were very sanguine of success, and great impatience was expressed for the dawn.

At day-light next day, the officer of the

morning watch was much delighted to find everything untouched and unnoticed in the buried battery; no footsteps were traceable, except those of tigers, which were pretty plentiful until within about twenty yards of our position, when they, apparently more vigilant and wide awake than the enemy, evidently smelt pepper and kept aloof. Breakfast was taken early, and everything got ready by eight A. M.

As soon as it was over, Lieutenant Barnard went down with two men to relieve the gunner, Mr. Hamm, and the look-outs, who immediately returned to their breakfast. At this time the boat was securely fastened by a chain as described before; the oars were again concealed, and every precaution taken to enable the three men who only could be spared for the defence of the boat to make a desperate resistance.

At half-past eight the fair breeze lulled,

and appeared inclined to drop altogether, but freshened up in a few minutes. From this time until nine o'clock, the whole party sat quietly, but evidently with great anxiety, observing me, as watch in hand, I waited for the signal agreed upon to denote the convoy's getting under weigh. This anxiety arose entirely from the eager wish that all hands entertained to have a slap at the enemy.

Nine o'clock was announced, and every person had his faculties riveted upon the watch, as if *that* could give the desired information. The minutes seemed hours. At length, a little past nine, a loud boom rolled through the air. "That's one of the Gorgon's big guns!" exclaimed a dozen voices, which were immediately hushed by a gesture for silence from the officers.

In about fifty-five seconds, another deep, solemn boom came roaring down the river.

This was the signal. In a few seconds the whole party were formed in line, bearing the tubes, which for perfect safety had, until that moment, been kept in the boat. Mr. Hamm brought up the rear. It was easy work enough, and we went along cheerily, until our arrival at the top of the island, where, although there was often cover, consisting of long grass and bushes for many yards, yet some part of the line of men was always open to the enemy; it therefore required great vigilance and circumspection still to keep out of view, for if once a glimpse had been caught, it was very natural to expect a discharge of round and grape shot.

For a considerable distance, the whole line crawled along upon hands and knees until the leader came to the bare brow before described; here the line halted a short time for breath, and then began slowly

and cautiously to crawl down on their bellies, like a snake dragging its length along, into the gully. This was a work of some time; but at length the last man got safely over, and then the long snake was unjointed, and the separate parts were metamorphosed apparently into a set of grave-diggers, for, in an incredibly short time, the rockets and geer were disinterred.

The alacrity of the men was so great in preparing what had been prescribed, that a hot and active dose of physic was soon ready to be administered. The rockets extended under the natural barricade for the space of three hundred yards, at various distances, according to the height of the bank and other circumstances; but they were so placed that it was quite impossible for the enemy to hit them, except by a chance shot: the tubes just showed their ends over the sand, and were even then

concealed from the barrancas by a fringe of grass.

As soon as everything was prepared, all the sticks screwed in, and slow matches lighted, an order was given to cut away the grass in rear of the tubes; this was immediately done by swords and cutlasses, which had been sharpened to a razor-edge for anything that might turn up. Although to all appearance enough had been mowed to prevent any ignition from the back fire, it was found afterwards that the repeated and rapid effects of it extended much farther than had been anticipated.

In a very short time every tube was pointed to the best advantage, and every individual at his station. There was then a pause for several minutes, broken only by the low delighted laugh of some of the men, or the booming of the signal-guns, as the various divisions of the convoy were ordered

to get under weigh. For another half-hour, all lay concealed, until an unusual movement in the enemy's batteries gave warning that something was stirring.

At this moment, I moved about fifty yards to the upper or windward end of the battery, and Lieutenant Barnard about the same distance to the lower or leeward end, with a boat's ensign fastened to a long light pole, but still totally concealed. In the mean time, the enemy's artillerymen, little conscious of their danger, had all crowded out and collected in a lump behind the works of the heavy or five-gun battery, which sheltered them in a measure from the upper part of the river, from which point huge volumes of smoke began to appear, heralding the approach of the combined squadron of steamers.

A crowd of the enemy's artillerymen now pressed forward to see this novel and

beautiful sight, and by so doing exposed themselves completely to the devil's den opposite. The smoke got thicker and denser, and at last the jib-boom and bowsprit of the Gorgon appeared plainly in view, followed by the Fulton, Alecto, Firebrand, and Gassendi. It was, indeed, a magnificent sight, to see these fine steamers coming down into the jaws of the enemy, at half-speed, and training their great heavy shell-guns, as if at exercise. Slowly and statelily they approached, until the batteries were nearly within range of their heavy guns, which, from the nature of their ordnance, was some time before the enemy could return their fire.

The crowd in front of the cliffs exulted in the supposed impregnable nature of their position, and no doubt speculated upon the destructive fire they were about to open. The rocket-battery just opposite and under

them, in a state of supreme delight, watched the insulting gestures of the enemy's artillerymen, and waited with impatience to let fly at them, and at the cavalry, whose heads, as they sat on horseback, could be seen some distance in the rear.

The long and anxiously expected moment at length arrived. At a signal previously arranged, a figure stepped slowly out, stuck the British ensign firmly into the sand under the very nose of the cliff, and, taking off his cap, made a low bow towards the enemy. This was Lieutenant Barnard. His courtesy was, however, thrown away, as every hostile eye was riveted on the approaching steamers. Attention, nevertheless, was instantly commanded by the loud roaring of the rockets, opening from left to right, for as one darted from the tube, the others were immediately fired in succession. One went about twenty feet over the heads of the uncon-

scious artillery-men on the cliffs, giving convincing proof of its long range; another just cleared their heads; two fell short, and the next two appeared to-plough the crowd up, and bounded into the cavalry in the rear. It is quite impossible to describe the panic and confusion this caused amongst the enemy, as it was the first intimation of any attack from the island. Suffice it to say, the whole space was cleared in a moment. To add to their comfort, the Gorgon's large shells began to fall amongst them. Three officers immediately rushed out bravely to the edge of the cliff, with spy-glasses, to see whence this unexpected fire came, but nothing could they discern but a large cloud of smoke slowly drifting down the river. This they unconsciously followed with their glasses as it passed the battery, until the little flag-staff to leeward arrested their attention, at which they all gazed

attentively for a short time, and then hastily retired.

All these circumstances occurred in a much shorter space of time than is required to describe them; but in the meantime the steamers were coming onwards. The enemy's gunners were looking along their guns' extreme train up the river, to open on the first vessel that came on; the matches or port-fires were held over the touch-holes. The Gorgon was coming on their line of fire; the moment had arrived, and the artillery on the heights began to play.

But in a twinkling, the report of the enemy's guns was drowned by the loud roarings of all the rockets together. From a dense cloud of smoke which immediately covered the whole side of the island, these fiery javelins appeared to vomit forth with inconceivable rapidity and fury, leaving behind them an attenuated thread of

smoke which, being combined, appeared like a beautiful arch just clearing the Gorgon's trucks as she passed under it.

At this juncture, one of the rockets, luckily directed, pierced a tumbrel or ammunition cart, which immediately exploded, heightening the confusion among the enemy. In the interim, the rocket party were not without their inconveniences: the back fire had extended so much fiercer and farther than had been expected, that all the grass in the rear was in a blaze. Immediately, therefore, that the Gorgon had passed, the word was given to cease firing, and put the flames out, which was soon done in very salamander-like fashion by all hands rolling in them, screaming with laughter and delight.

Almost immediately afterwards, the Fulton and the Alecto passed down to take up their stations, covered by the battery, and

with so much effect, that neither of the vessels was struck by a single shot. On the latter passing, three cheers were given for the grimy Nigger (a pet name for the Alecto), and the rockets ceased firing.

Having no floating opponent immediately in front, the enemy began to direct their artillery at the island; but, misled by the flag-staff, they peppered at that with right good-will, and ploughed up the ground all around it. During this time, the steamers were plying them with shot and shell, the direction of which was eagerly watched and commented on, upon the island. At length a large shell from the Firebrand struck the cliff a few feet beneath the heavy battery, which, penetrating some distance, exploded with great violence, tearing out large masses of débris, which fell into the river with a loud crash.

This so delighted the rocket men, that, with one accord, they all rushed up the bank and gave three cheers, which, however, completely unmasked them, and the enemy's guns were immediately turned from the flag-staff to the proper position of our battery. This change of direction in the fire, was treated by our men with profound indifference, as the shot either stuck in the bank or passed over their heads like cricket-balls, and many jokes were cracked on the occasion. Now and then, to keep the enemy alive, a single rocket, admirably directed by Lieutenant Barnard, was sent handsomely into some of their embrasures, which accelerated a return.

The little Dolphin soon came gallantly down, leading the convoy.

At this time, the individual whose superstitious discourse has been related, became "himself again." The ominous

coincidence no longer existing, and all apprehension on that account having consequently ceased, he fought, not only with the greatest coolness and bravery, but exposed himself so unnecessarily as to induce me to reprove him. As the Dolphin was approaching our line of fire, he stood on the summit of the bank cheering her. Perceiving this useless exposure, I called to him peremptorily to come down, running forward to enforce my order, as he did not appear to hear it. On my nearing the place, he jumped hastily down, and was hardly under cover, when a shot from the enemy struck the identical spot on which his feet had rested, driving the sand with great force over us.

Upon arriving at the proper position, at the order "Cover the Dolphin," another volley and running fire burst forth, accompanied with loud and repeated cheers for

the gallant little vessel, which likewise passed with slight damage.

The enemy's fire was now very much divided by the number of vessels that came crowding together, and they were still desperately galled by the rockets. But now the ammunition began to run short; two tubes were therefore dismantled and sent to the boat; and this was continued until only one tube was left, which, giving them a parting salvo, was also struck and retired.

As a last salute, the flag-staff was waved in their faces, which appeared to annoy them much, as a heavy fire was drawn towards the retiring party; but the men, keeping in open order, the shot passed through without touching a single individual. On the arrival of the last stand at the boat, everything was found ready for instant departure. There was, there-

fore, nothing more to do but cut away the concealment of willow branches, and launch the party merrily into the rapid current.

IN COMMAND.—LIEUT. MACKINNON, R.N.

First Division Lieut. BARNARD, *R.M.A., three 24lb Rocket Tubes.*

No. 1.—1. Bombardier Elliott
2. John Davis
3. Peter Murray
4. Stephen Howe
5. James Cunningham

No. 2.—1. Bombardier Freeman
2. George March
3. George Smith
4. William Martin
5.

No. 3.—1. William Davis
2. Samuel Roche
3. James Costello
4. David Jones
5. William Humphreys.

Second Division, Mr. HAMM, *Gunner. Three* 12*lb. Rocket Tubes.*

No. 1.—1. William Rowe
2. William Sharpe

No. 2.—1. David Thomas
2. Charles Feast

No. 3.—1. John Walker
2. Thomas Bacon.

CHAPTER II.

Orders to retire behind the Islands—Dinner in the Boat—English Barque running aground—Evasion of Orders—Three Vessels Ashore—Critical Position of a Schooner—Her narrow Escape—Burning the stranded Vessels—Floating Bales of Paraguay Tea—"Treasure-trove"—Good Fortune of the Rocket Party—Ludicrous Mistake—The Corrientino Boat—Ineffectual Attempt by the Enemy to extinguish the Flames in the Burning Vessels—Reception on Board the Firebrand.

WHEN we took our departure from the concealed position, we found the island trended away from the barrancas. Stringent orders had been received that we were to retire

behind the islands, and not emerge from the protection they afforded until we should be beyond the hostile batteries. As a capital chart had been provided for our guidance by order of Sir Charles Hotham, this was an easy task. Every stroke of the oars carried us farther from San Lorenzo, and in a few minutes we were completely out of range and sight.

The oars were now rigged in, the blades still resting in the spurs; and, as our boat slowly drifted down the stream, dinner was served out. This was a welcome and needful refreshment to the almost exhausted men, who, not anticipating what demands on their exertions Fortune had still in store, concluded that their day's work was at an end.

Just as dinner was finished, and the crew settled to their oars; we arrived at the end of the island, and opened the channel dividing it from the next island, on which, to our

great disgust, we saw a lubberly English barque (the Caledonia) run aground.* This sight served as an excuse to evade the orders for a safe retirement; as it would have been unpardonable for this well-manned and powerful boat to sneak away in security when her services were so obviously required. We therefore immediately turned her head

---

* In mentioning the above fact, the author would call attention to a series of Letters in "THE NAUTICAL MAGAZINE," now in a course of publication, wherein is demonstrated the lamentable deficiency in nautical knowledge of a great portion of that important class of men, masters of merchant vessels. Were the admirable instructions which are embodied in that periodical work heedfully perused and studied, the ignorance in question would no longer exist. So much valuable information on points of interest and importance to a seaman, is indeed to be found in the pages of "THE NAUTICAL MAGAZINE," that no vessel should be without it, whether bound to far-distant ports, with rich freights of bullion, or costly merchandize, or crawling round the coast of England with a miserable cargo of coals or slate.

towards the stranded vessel, though this was in the direction of the batteries, between which and ourselves we had placed a safe distance.

This retrogression was greeted with loud cheers by the crew, who, double-banking the oars, lay to them with hearty goodwill, utterly reckless of again running into danger.

But it was destined that our difficulties were to be increased. As we advanced towards the stranded Caledonia, a small schooner ran on the same bank close to her. Another vessel immediately followed, and then another, like sheep after a bell-wether. Altogether, four vessels were jammed in a heap, hard and fast.

Which to make for, was a puzzling question. At this moment, a fourth schooner left the line of convoy, and headed up towards the creek out of which we were pulling. She was evidently disabled; several of her

running ropes were cut, and she steered wildly. As it was clear that she was much more likely to be saved than the others under the batteries, our attention was directed to this schooner, whose crew were evidently panic-stricken: they had all run forward, sheltering themselves from the enemy's fire before the deck-cargo of hides. By this time, she had drifted a short distance up the creek, under the influence of her head-sails. Her position was extremely critical, as, one hundred yards a-head of her towards us, was shoal water. She had no other chance than to anchor: hailing was of no use. As a desperate remedy, our paddle-box boat opened a smart fire of musketry, and the friendly, but dangerous, whizz of the balls brought the crew to their senses in a moment. The loud rattle of the chain-cable was immediately heard, followed by the welcome sight of the schooner whirling

round to the sudden check of her anchor. In another moment, the paddle-box boat dashed alongside.

On getting aboard the schooner, we found an unlucky shot had knocked away half her rudder-head. This was quickly repaired, in an admirable manner, by Mr. Hamm, who lashed the tiller firmly to the damaged extremity. Meanwhile, two men with steer oars assisted the steerage; some active topmen spliced the running geer cut by shot; and the artillerymen, under Lieutenant Barnard, got ready a deck-tackle to heave up the anchor.

In five minutes, the schooner, all a'taunto, was standing out towards the batteries: the wind, however, being scant, it appeared impossible to weather the fatal point.

"Prepare the combustibles," was the order, as her loss seemed inevitable. Another minute, and she would have been gone

for ever. But it was not to be: the wind suddenly shifted four points, and she lay her course. She had no sooner arrived in a position of safety than the wind returned to the old quarter, compelling her to keep a close luff to weather the second bank. Fortunately, however, at this point, the Firebrand and the Alecto saved her from the enemy's fire.

As soon as it was possible to keep away, a twelve pound rocket tube, previously mounted on the deck cargo of hides, opened on the enemy; a kind of salutation which must have rather surprised them, as, ten minutes previously, they no doubt supposed the schooner was thoroughly disabled, and in their power.*

* The above schooner was from Paraguay, and valued at 50,000 dollars. Not a word, however, of acknowledgment or thanks were received for this salvage.

As soon as the rescued vessel had been safely placed in the open stream, the rocket-party left her, and were hailed by Captain Hope of the Firebrand, who ordered them to proceed up the river, and assist in burning the stranded vessels. The current being very strong, the Lizard was directed to tow our heavy paddle-box boat. From some fault in her build, and in spite of her great power, compared to her size, she careened so much and steered so badly, that she approached perilously close to the San Lorenzo barrancas before she could turn round and get her head up stream. Fortunately, the Alecto had dismounted the only heavy gun at this point, and the Lizard had nothing but field-pieces opposed to her. Upon covering the stranded vessels, the rocket-party once more pushed off, and hastened to the assistance of those engaged in burning these unfortunates.

Under the able management of Lieutenant (now Captain) Barker, the vessels were quickly in a blaze fore and aft, and, as shot were plunging unpleasantly quick and close, it was considered advisable to withdraw as speedily as possible, nothing more being attainable.

As the order had been repeated to retire behind the islands, the rocket-boat once again took her way towards the creek. She was hardly disentangled from the burning craft, when she was surrounded by numerous bales of matte, or Paraguay tea, which had been thrown overboard by the stranded vessels, in the vain hope that, by lightening themselves, they should get off.*

As the enemy's shot still reached our boat, I did not consider it prudent to lie by to

* These floating bales were seen by the enemy, and, in the official despatch, mendaciously asserted to be dead bodies!

pick up the bales; three of them, however, were hauled in as they floated past. To add to our "treasure-trove," we saw, drifting close to us, a coir, or East Indian hawser; a bight of this was seized by a boat-hook, hauled in, and coiled carefully in the stern-sheets by the coxswain and officers. This was a fortunate prize.

During, indeed, the whole of the expedition, most extraordinary luck attended the party; or rather, in fitter words, let me express a belief that we were objects of providential care. For not only were we in five different vessels under fire, besides exposure on Rocket island to the batteries, without receiving the slightest injury, but had moreover the benefit of a timely change of wind which saved the schooner. Then the acquisition of the East Indian hawser turned out to be of incalculable service: had this been made of any other material, it

would have sunk, and, of course, been totally beyond reach.

In a short time we were again out of range, the last richochet of the shot dropping some distance astern.

On entering the creek, a small vessel was perceived a-head, as if concealed in some bushes. When we previously passed through, nothing of the kind was to be seen: we therefore, naturally enough, believed it to be an enemy's gun-boat. This opinion was strengthened by some of the crew declaring they discerned barrels of musketry sticking up and moving above the gunwale. No time was lost in pulling alongside, when a hearty laugh was elicited by finding it was the large boat procured from the Corrientino government for the Alecto, and which had been shot away from her stern as she passed the batteries of San Lorenzo. The supposed musket barrels moving about were the

horns of cattle which just showed above the gunwale as the beasts walked to and fro. The great utility of our newly found hawser was now apparent. Without this, we could not have hove off the boat, which we immediately prepared to accomplish by laying out an anchor.

At this time, several canoes crossed over from the enemy, and advanced towards the burning vessels with an evident intention to quench the flames. As this could not be allowed, we remained *perdue*, awaiting the issue, as I did not think it worth while to make an onslaught and destroy more life unless there was a chance that the canoes would effect the enemy's purpose. We were therefore much pleased to perceive the flames grow brighter and stronger; at length the Caledonia's masts toppled and fell, flinging far and wide a dazzling shower of sparks.

This afforded abundant evidence that the burning sacrifice was completed; and we accordingly proceeded to heave off our salvage and row into the current.

An hour's pull brought us in sight of the Firebrand; and, a short time afterwards, we were alongside that fine steamer, having excited great wonder on board as to what we were lugging along so comfortably.

We were all heartily welcomed aboard, and very much enjoyed the Firebrand's hospitality, together with the much-coveted rest after our long and various labours.

CHAPTER III.

The Firebrand—Advance Guard of Steamers, at Tonnelero—Effect of Congreve Rockets—First Occasion where Steamers anchored to engage Batteries—Depart with Despatches — South-American Buccaneers — Mouth of Uruguay—Its Current—Poor Islanders—Parana and Uruguay—Sources of their Supply of Water—Rise and Fall.

After a good dinner in the Firebrand, the fatigue and anxiety I had so many hours suffered, totally overpowered me. I was glad to get half undressed into my cot, and remembered nothing more until called the next morning to dress for breakfast.

On going on deck, the view was most

beautiful. We were passing the town of Rosario, at a very rapid pace. The huge steamer seemed to *glide* down; and her ponderous engines worked so smoothly and easily as to give one an idea that the vessel's way was causing the engines to revolve, not the engines propelling the vessel. The machinery was, indeed, kept in beautiful order, as well as everything else in this superb vessel.

We soon came in sight of the tail of the convoy, which we rapidly passed. On arriving about the centre division, we were obliged, in consequence of the Firebrand's great draught of water, to diverge from the usual course and take a channel running close under the barrancas of San Nicholas, one of the very worst localities in the river.

Fully expecting some opposition here, we went to quarters. I could not help

remarking the immense size and height of the Firebrand's after pivot gun. While standing close to it, the top of my head was just flush with the upper part of the muzzle. All preparations were, however, useless, as no enemy appeared, and we ran down the barrancas with nothing to oppose, or even look at us, excepting two large black and white goats, who regarded us, our preparations, and destructive weapons, with the most immoveable gravity.

At two P. M. we came in sight of Tonnelero, where we fully expected another brush with the enemy, but the only objects worthy of note were the Gorgon, the Gassendi, and the Alecto, with springs on their cables, and their broadsides bearing on the embrazures which on our passage up we had battered so easily and safely.

At three P. M. I found myself once again safely on board the Alecto.

A few remarks here may not be out of place on the subject of the rocket battery. It must appear extraordinary to most naval officers unacquainted with the power and effect of Congreve-rockets, that such a comparatively small battery should have had so great an effect, and that the public despatches should have given credit to the rockets for being of the most essential service. One point on which the success depended, was the concealment of the battery until the time had arrived to play on the enemy. To place the rockets in position, was a work of difficulty and danger; but this being effected, no doubt could be entertained of a prosperous result, as the fire would not only take the enemy by surprise, but would have effect in the exact place they considered safe from the ships' guns. The fire, from our six tubes, was equal to a continuous discharge from the artillery of two eighty-gun ships, not in

point of weight of metal, but quickness of fire.

As I am well aware that such an assertion, unsupported by facts, would be deemed unjustifiable, I consider an explanation necessary. The six rocket tubes used, could and did throw, at one time, forty rockets in a minute. Taking the broadside guns of two eighty-gun ships, with a good aim, I will defy them to do more, if so much. Of course, I do not estimate the first broadside; I mean the continuous fire in action. It follows, therefore, that the six tubes, masked as they were, could positively throw in a heavier fire than all the squadron put together. Such is the fact, and such is the true reason of their great success.

Whenever required, the rockets flew with such rapidity and effect that it was impossible for any body of men to withstand them, particularly cavalry, of which the

enemy's force was principally composed; and if all the accounts current in Buenos Ayres be true, these mounted troops were dreadfully cut up and destroyed by the rockets.

Other peculiarities in this action deserve note, as being unusual in warfare. Firstly: it is generally found that the *defenders* plant masked batteries; in this case, the above practice was reversed, as the *offensive* party took advantage of this very effective *ruse de guerre.* Secondly: this is the first time in naval warfare that steamers have anchored to engage batteries. I venture to predict that it will not be the last time either against land-fortifications, or line-of-battle ships. The result of the several actions in the Parana has, indeed, convinced me that steam-vessels are much more durable under fire than has hitherto been believed.

We remained at Tonnelero all night, as

some of the laggarts of the convoy had not come down. A very careful watch was kept, as we anticipated a warm attack before day-light. But the enemy had suffered too much the preceding day to come to the scratch again, and we passed a quiet and comfortable night.

Saturday.—At eight this morning, the steam was up, and we proceeded to Obligado. Here was a very animated scene. The assembled convoy were making the best of their way down the river. After remaining four hours, we weighed again, and steamed down the river with despatches to announce to the English admiral the safe passage of the convoy, without the loss of a single man.

At one o'clock on Monday morning, we emerged from the Parana, and at three communicated with the island of Martin Garcia. At seven P. M. we passed Colonia;

and, to our great annoyance, were obliged to anchor shortly after, as so thick a fog came on that it was impossible to see even a short distance a-head, which, in a difficult channel, with only nine inches water to spare, is no joke. I forgot to mention that we took on board at Obligado, as passengers, the officers and crews of the ships burnt at San Lorenzo.

Next morning broke with another thick fog; but, as we had despatches, we weighed in spite of all obstacles, and began to feel our way down the Rio de la Plata. At five P.M. we sighted the mount, and anchored close off the flag-ship. We were, evidently, a very welcome arrival, and were immediately hailed to deliver our budget of news.

As we remained a considerable time at Monte Video with little to do, I had an opportunity of conversing with several very intelligent persons in this town. Some

curious circumstances came under my observation, which I consider worthy of record. The place abounds with many men of all nations, possessing nautical skill and enterprize, but totally without moral principle or character. These are ready for any expedition, however dangerous, as long as money is to be made. Indeed, they openly boast of their various rascalities which, with recitals of feats of desperate courage, form the general topic of conversation amongst them, reminding one of the old buccaneers, whose spirit seems to be not yet extinct in this part of the world. I have, indeed, little doubt that immense profits might be made in the Rio de la Plata, should the speculator not be too scrupulous on the score of honesty.

Thursday, June 26th.—Received orders to prepare for sea. Our destination is the river Uruguay, a twin sister of the Parana.

Friday, June 27th.—Towards evening we weighed and steamed upwards with provisions and despatches for Her Majesty's ship Acorn. On Monday, at noon, we entered the mouth of the Uruguay, passing close to a half-ruined fort with nine embrazures, but no guns. In this part the river was very wide, being nearly, if not quite, five miles across. This breadth is owing to the absence of islands.

We are given to understand that we are going up to co-operate with General Fructuoso Riviera.

Tuesday.—In our upward passage to-day, we observed that the river narrowed considerably, not being above two miles broad. The current has not half the impetuosity of the Parana, but glides sluggishly down with only slight force. At noon, we anchored abreast of Her Majesty's ship Acorn, and immediately commenced delivering our

cargo of provisions. Our position is a little below the city of San Domingo, as placed on the chart, but completely out of view.

Wednesday.—Landed on an island near us, on a sporting expedition; but, as we were given to understand that there was a fordable place near the main land which the enemy's cavalry were in the habit of crossing occasionally, I must confess most of the pleasure of shooting was lost, as I was as much on the look-out for cavalry as for ducks. We were, however, extremely successful, killing three different kind of ducks, besides numerous other birds, such as snipe, curlew, parrots, ibis, &c.

The only persons living here are a few men cutting wood, and manufacturing it into charcoal for the Monte Videan market. Every evening, when their work is concluded, they betake themselves in a boat to a more remote island, for fear of

being butchered in their beds. I found these poor men had a great dread of tigers, which has been much increased lately by one of their number having been carried off whilst felling a tree. Another was seized in his rancho, or hut, whilst sleeping there, and carried off to some distance, but was dropped by the ferocious brute on hearing the cries of the pursuers. Though I strongly suspect my informants were drawing the long bow, I should certainly feel very queer if left alone and unarmed on shore after nightfall.

I was at first much puzzled on observing that the Uruguay and Parana (although in some places approximating closely), were influenced by such totally different causes in their rise and fall, that while the one is at its greatest height, the other should be exactly the reverse. This seeming paradox, however, may, I think, be

explained by examining the map of South America, when it will be at once seen that the principal tributaries feeding the Paraguay and Parana take their rise from the base of the Andes. In the summer season of this climate, (January, February, March and April,) the Parana rises from the melting of the snow on the elevated ranges; and as the frosts of winter come on, they seal up, as it were, a vast number of the most prolific sources of supply; the consequence is, that the Parana rapidly falls as cold weather commences. On the contrary, the Uruguay derives its chief supply from the densely-wooded forests of tropical Brazil, the winter rains of which region send forth an ample quantity of water at the precise moment the hand of Nature checks the swelling stream of the Parana; thus exemplifying the wisdom and beneficence of Divine Providence in not emptying two

such mighty rivers at the same moment, and thereby, perhaps, abstracting too much moisture at one time from this immense alluvial plain.

CHAPTER IV.

Palm Cabbage—Intricate Jungle—Orchidaca—Parasite on Parasite—Wild Orange Trees—General Riviera—News—Deserted Peninsula—Stick in the Mud—The Banda Oriental—An Expedition—Despatches for Pandour—Varied Scenery—Fertile Land—Profusion of Game—Plentiful Repasts—Welcome Intruder—French Officer—"The London Hotel"—French Dinner—Novel Cuisine.

HAVING remarked several very beautiful palm-trees, about two hundred yards inland, in one of the islands, I landed, after breakfast one morning, in order to procure the cabbage that I have often read of as growing on the top. As it was a very dense,

tigerish-looking place, I adopted the precaution of taking my double-barrelled gun, in addition to an axe. The underwood and climbers were so interlaced, that it was with the utmost difficulty I scrambled, in half-an-hour, through these obstructions to the palm-trees. To make sure that my line of progress was correct, I had once to climb a tree. At length I arrived at a cluster of fine, tall palms. After a short rest, rendered necessary by exhaustion arising from cutting my way through tough and rope-like tendrils, and festoons of climbers. I speedily felled three palms, and was pleased to find the cabbage in the head not unpleasant to the taste even when raw, and something similar to vegetable-marrow; but when cooked, really a very palatable dish.

In this dense jungle, I observed numerous air-plants of different species. By one of these, I was much interested. It had taken

root on a dead tree, about twelve feet from the ground, which had half fallen, but was supported from complete prostration by the branches of another tree. The parasite had completely entwined, and almost enveloped the dead trunk, and had roots as large as a man's thigh. From this huge air-plant, grew numerous small parasites of a totally different kind, with foliage very similar to the carnation. This various growth deriving sustenance from decay, proves the wonderful activity of vegetation in South America, which does not appear to be hurt, or even checked, by the occasional severe frosts.

On the beach where I came out, not being able to hit the exact spot where I entered, on account of the closeness of the jungle, I found several wild orange-trees, with fruit hanging most temptingly upon them. To procure some I cut down a

tree; but found the fruit extremely bitter and acid.

Tuesday.—General Riviera arrived this day at Mercedes, a town a few leagues off, and brought news of a minister having arrived at Buenos Ayres, direct from England, to settle everything connected with the Rio de la Plata.* This gave us all great satisfaction, as every one concerned is quite tired of warfare against the wretched people of La Plata.

Wednesday.—Intelligence suddenly arrived to-day that a division of the enemy, under General Gomez, was in full march to attack Riviera at Mercedes. A dispatch was immediately sent off from the Acorn to apprize Riviera of it. Every preparation is making to support the friendly general.

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* This was the fruitless attempt of Mr. Hood, in Her Majesty's ship Devastation.

Thursday, July 9th.—As it was reported that much smuggling was going on between Entre Rios and the Banda Oriental, it was decided that the Alecto should proceed up the river, and attempt to check this contraband trade by lying at the most advantageous points for the purpose.

At noon, we arrived abreast of the Rincon de los Gallinas, a peninsula formed by a bend of the river Uruguay and the Rio Negro, which absolutely swarmed with catile. The few estancias we saw were in ruins, and totally deserted; the effect of this miserable war. At one o'clock we found we were scraping through mud, there being six inches less water than we drew, although in the centre of the right channel. In ten minutes, we stuck fast. Here we remained the whole day, sending boats in every necessary direction to sound and ascertain our best way out. At sun-set the water had

left us a foot; and we retired to rest, not without anxiety for the result. At midnight, to our great astonishment, the water suddenly began to rise; and at nine A. M. the following morning it had risen four feet, enabling us to proceed. As we now became confident that our luck was invincible, we were in high spirits.

Our progress this day was remarkable for the beautiful scenery on the side of the Banda Oriental. The view was similar to that which is seen when sailing from Yarmouth, Isle of Wight, to Cowes, (without the high land,) and about the same width of water. In the afternoon, we entered a labyrinth of islands which contracted the channel considerably.

Friday, still ascending. At noon, anchored off a small creek leading through the islands, to the main land of the Banda Oriental. No doubt this was an admirable place for smugglers, the channel not being more than two

hundred yards broad, with several small winding creeks, so tortuous and blind that in hardly any place could a clear view of one hundred yards be got.

We had hardly anchored, before I received orders to hold myself in readiness to take despatches to the French man-of-war brig Pandour, at Paisandu, a town about forty miles up the river. Anything in the shape of adventure on board a ship is always hailed with delight, and I immediately made every preparation in very great glee. I selected eight men and the pilot, who all exulted in the idea of going so long a distance in an open boat through the hostile country. The only drawback was the smallness of the boat, which barely held the party, and their arms and provisions.

At nine P.M. received the written orders for my guidance, with an intimation that I was to start at day-light.

Saturday, July 11th.—At day-light, the provisions were carefully stowed away in the bottom of the boat. The arms and ammunition inspected, and each man mustered with a blanket. Everything being found correct and in its place, the boat, very deeply laden, pushed off from the vessel half-an-hour after day-light. The wind and current both being adverse, it was necessary, in order to advance at all, to creep up close to whichever bank afforded protection from the wind.

As we advanced, the scenery was very much varied; sometimes between islands so close together, that we shot birds and animals on each shore. These islands are plentifully interspersed with the date palm, which had a most beautiful appearance; and, when we drew out near the main land, the stream widened considerably. We passed either bold, bluff barrancas, over

which nothing was visible, and whence we might easily have been picked off by musketry; or a gently sloping, green pasture down to the river's margin, dotted with horned cattle, horses, and sometimes ostriches and deer. Clumps of trees were interspersed, and beautifully grouped by the hand of Nature. Sometimes, for a short distance, a dense forest of large timber-trees impeded the view. A high sand-bank then intervened, with a belt (about fifty yards broad) of trees and shrubs, where I often stopped to rest the men, and then surveyed the country, which was mainly characterized by undulating, pasture land, interspersed with coppices and clumps of trees, stretching inland as far as the eye could reach, and completely covered by animal life in great variety, like a very extensive and well-kept park in England.

The only thing wanting to make this the

most enchanting scene in the world, was the presence of civilized man; but, alas! the brute creation alone enjoyed the terrestrial paradise.

As we advanced, we every now and then perceived deer come down fearlessly to drink. Pheasants walked quietly along the banks, or sat in the trees in fancied security, five and six, and even more together. The partridges, both large and small, constantly rose close to the boat; whilst numerous carpinchos sat quietly on their haunches, like Brobdignag brown guinea-pigs staring at us with the most perfect unconcern.

Here was a situation for a sportsman! And here I sat with my 'gun in hand, not feeling the slightest inclination to take advantage of this extraordinary profusion of game. On the contrary, I was disinclined to kill more than we could fairly consume; and this I adhered to during

the expedition, only allowing the men to shoot enough for their own eating. Their appetites, however, were enormous, from constant exposure to the air, and laborious work at the oars. Each of them would eat his allowance of pork, fried as rashers of bacon, a huge lump of beef-steak, and a pheasant, three and four times a day. The game was procured without any difficulty, by the men themselves, whom I allowed a certain quantity of shot (so many charges) to procure pheasants enough for a meal, and their practice was, whilst one party was preparing the fire to cook them, another would go perhaps a hundred yards from the bivouack in search of game, and generally with success. The only animals that shewed any symptoms of wildness, were the usually domesticated horned cattle and horses.

After pulling for five hours and a half, we found the force of the wind increase so

much, that, united with the strength of the current, it was totally impossible to get one inch a-head. We, therefore, landed on an island in the middle of the stream, where the pilot informed us there were, or had been, some refugees from the Blancos, or opposite party. A fire was immediately lighted, and vast culinary operations commenced. The pheasants were just done to a turn, and all hands set to with great gusto, when, suddenly, the sentries came in from their posts at a little distance inland, and announced that they had heard a great rustling of bushes, and that something was approaching. The men were immediately stationed under cover of the bank where the boat lay fast, with their arms ready to protect their delicious smoking hot dinner, thus abandoned for a moment.

In a short time, a figure appeared through the bushes, making friendly gestures. He

was immediately perceived to be a French officer, by his uniform. We quickly became friends, and he informed me he belonged to the Pandour, the very vessel to which I was taking dispatches. He had been sent down in a small prize, with a party of men, to protect the island, threatened by the enemy, on which were several refugee families, who had recently escaped from the main land. We exchanged gifts, mine being some fine pheasants, and his a quarter of fat beef, which gave mutual satisfaction.

The wind had now increased so much that it was out of the question to attempt any further progress. I, therefore, settled to remain where I was. My good friend, the French officer, then informed me there was a deserted rancho, or hut, half-a-mile further on, where I should find comfortable protection from the weather. This good-natured hint was instantly taken, and the

boat shifted up to the hut. It had two rooms very ingeniously constructed of grass, which was tied with slender thongs of hides to the light poles supporting the roof and sides. One room was immediately turned into a kitchen, and the other nicely cleaned and strewed with long dry grass, as a sleeping-chamber.

It is impossible to describe the delight of the sailors on getting possession of a house. To make the thing complete, two long slender poles were cut, and stuck at each end of it, upon which were hoisted the ensign and pennant, and the men gravely christened it with a pannikin of water,—"The London Hotel." Immediately after, like genuine John Bulls, they commenced cooking a second dinner for the welfare of their new concern.

Lieutenant Grandin, the officer in command of the little tender, was kind enough to ask me to dinner. As I did not think it

possible he could be in earnest, or give a dinner in such a small boat, not above seven or eight tons, and without any *cuisine*, I at first declined; but, upon his repeating the invitation, accepted it. Little was I aware of the genius of Frenchmen in the culinary department; for I was regaled with a much better dinner than I could have had in my own ship.

Being much surprised at the excellence of the repast, I had the curiosity to examine the apparatus which produced it. I will first, however, describe the viands. In compliment to me, *Biftick à l'Anglais*, with radishes, took precedence; then came a very nice ragoût, followed by a pheasant admirably roasted; some small fishes stewed, concluded the meal. The whole was diluted with claret at dinner, a whet of Absinthe afterwards, and, finally, a cup of excellent coffee.

Now for the kitchen equipage: the end of a cask sawed off and filled with earth served as a fire-place; the apparatus consisted of an iron pot, and a small kettle. These poor tools produced, under French inspiration, the dinner above described. Any English officer, placed in the same circumstances, would have been content with a tough, half-raw, greasy beef-steak.

May my hospitable French friend, Lieutenant Grandin, never dine worse.

CHAPTER V.

Remain at our Quarters—Change of Weather—Shelter in a Cove—A Survey—A Spy—Caution—Departure—An old Blanco—Wild Landscape—Funereal Cremation—Refugee Families—The Pandour—Paiṣandu—Favourable Position.

THE adverse wind still continuing strong, we were obliged to remain at our quarters—"The London Hotel," which we found extremely comfortable, as the sentry kept up a huge fire in the kitchen, which completely

warmed us through the grassy partition. The men were so delighted with their new found house, that they could not compose themselves to sleep, and were singing a very dolorous ditty the whole night, the principal burthen of which was,

"Oh, Aunt Margaret, naughty Aunt Margaret,
How are you off for soap?—Oh dear!"

Towards morning, the sentries reported more moderate weather. All hands were therefore roused out, and huge quantities of beef-steak put on to fry, as a commencement. In the meantime, I had performed my ablution in the river, and had retired to the sleeping apartment, where I was absorbed in reading, by a lantern and purser's dip, Drinkwater's Siege of Gibraltar, and laughing to myself at the bungling of the Spanish engineers, whose greatest effort, with nearly four hundred guns, was to throw

in forty-two shot, or shell, in two minutes, which in those days was considered wonderful. In the midst of my rumination, I was disturbed by one of my crew bringing me a pheasant capitally roasted, on a biscuit, another biscuit with salt on it, and a pannikin of cocoa, which proved an excellent breakfast.

At twenty minutes past five, we again started, and exerted ourselves with might and main to make way. We advanced very slowly until noon, when the breeze again freshened, and we found it impossible to get a-head. We were therefore obliged to bear up for a creek under our lee, where we found a snug little cove, which completely sheltered us from the weather. The water was so shallow, and the entrance so narrow, being hardly twenty feet, that we barely got into it. My astonishment was therefore great to find inside a steep bank of sand,

with water enough (five fathoms) for a large frigate.

Here an enormous fire was made, and the cooking commenced again. As I anticipated being detained here the whole night, I employed all hands for one hour in collecting fire wood sufficient to keep off wild animals.

Being anxious to ascertain, if possible, the cause of this deep water cove, whilst dinner was preparing, I took four men as a guard, and explored the island. After a narrow survey, I could perceive no probable means of formation. The cove was three hundred yards long, and sixty wide, in the broadest part, ending abruptly in a marsh. How, therefore, this deep natural dock could be formed, was a mystery.

Sending the men back to their dinner, I lay down in the long grass, and with my spy-glass, took a long and anxious survey of

the enemy's coast. It was, perhaps, fortunate I did so; for as I examined the opposite shore very narrowly, foot by foot, I espied, about twelve hundred yards distant, an officer cautiously examining my party with a spy-glass, and evidently scanning their force.

"Oh, oh, my boy," thought I. "Catch a weazle asleep!" I therefore continued to watch his motions, and perceived him communicate with something in the rear. Making a détour, I rejoined my party and ate my dinner with great relish, having fully made up my mind what to do.

My men were extremely anxious to cross the river and steal a cow from the enemy, particularly as they had consumed all their four days' allowance of beef, and respectfully appealed to me to let them go. Not thinking it worth while to acquaint them with the true state of the case, I told them

that as it was Sunday, I could not allow any shooting, and rated them well for eating so much. Their excuse was unanswerable.

"Why, sir, we are working all day, and we can't help eating; we always feel hungry when we are away like this."

All this time, a good look-out on us was kept opposite. The length of the island was about fourteen hundred yards, by four or five hundred.

About nine o'clock, the men were called together, and informed, that although large fires might be very effective in keeping off wild beasts, yet they might have a directly contrary effect upon a vigilant enemy, who now, from what I had observed, were not only acquainted with our position, but, what was of infinitely more importance, with our strength and numbers. Consequently, although blowing fresh, we immediately

made preparations for departure, heaping up the fire-wood before collected to make a huge blaze, and thus deceive the enemy if they had any hostile intention. At a quarter after nine we were stealthily pulling out of our friendly port, on getting to the narrow part of which, we found, to our extreme annoyance, that the water had left the entrance quite bare and dry. "Well my lads, off trousers and haul her out; that's the only plan," was my order, which was immediately obeyed; and, after ten minutes' hard tugging, the boat was once more afloat. We then pulled up the river about a league, and anchored just out of musket range of the enemy's coast, hauled a tarpaulin over the crew, and, with the exception of the sentry, slept as soundly as the cramped position of our limbs, from the small size of the boat, would allow.

Two hours before day-light the following

morning, we proceeded; but, as the wind was still strong against us, our progress was very slow and heavy. At nine o'clock we hauled into a small bight on the enemy's shore, being the sheltered, or weatherside. Although on the enemy's ground, we were perfectly safe, as a thick jungle extended round us for a quarter of a mile, and it was all but impossible to scramble through it. We therefore boiled our huge tea-pot, and cooked our breakfast with great contentment and pleasure.

After breakfast, we once again proceeded. On rounding a little point, we suddenly came upon an old man (one of the enemy, a Blanco) quietly washing his shirt on the beech. The moment he perceived us he dropped his shirt, and picked up a rusty, old, and very short gun, used by the cavalry. "Drop it, you blood-thirsty old scoundrel!" I exclaimed, as I levelled my

double-barrelled gun at his head. "Drop it like a hot potatoe." He appeared to understand my meaning very well, and lowered his gun immediately. It would have been absurd to make him a prisoner; so we contented ourselves with taking away his powder, (about two charges,) leaving him his rotten old gun, as it was only likely to damage the owner if fired off.

Our progress was again very slow and laborious, not getting a-head more than a mile an hour. I landed twice, to take a peep over the sand-bank along which we were pulling, and reconnoitre a-head. But there was no appearance of any living soul. Nothing was descried but the usual countless herds of horned cattle and horses, with occasionally a flock of ostriches, and a few deer. Small marshy ponds, nearly filled with water-lillies, were seen here and there, as if dug by the hands of man to ornament the landscape and

provide for the wants of animals. These ponds were absolutely swarming with water-fowl. I never beheld any wild landscape that bore so exact a similarity to highly cultivated art.

This pleasing illusion was so general amongst us, that the sailors, in their conversation, described the country as " A large, beautifully stocked, and well-wooded gentleman's park." And, truly, this expression gives the best idea of it.

At two o'clock, the crew were quite done up with their laborious work at the oars. We, therefore, again landed on an island, where the former scene of jollity and gormandizing was re-acted.

After dinner, as the wind was still too strong to allow us to proceed, the party was divided; half remaining to guard the boat, while the other half accompanied me, in exploring the ground. Following up a

narrow path in the jungle, for about five hundred yards, we came out on a large open space of about twenty acres, covered with long dry grass. In the midst of this, were three half-burnt houses or ranchos, about a dozen little wooden crosses, denoting some bloody deed, and a half-decayed human body. As we had no instruments but bayonets to bury the corpse, we determined to burn it as the most effectual method. Dry sticks and grass were therefore collected, heaped over the body, and set on fire. The sparks communicated with the long grass, and in a short time the whole cleared space was one mass of bright flame which crackled as it ran along, like a continuous discharge of musketry.

We were glad to return to the boat, where we found the guard in great amazement, at the noise and smoke of the fire.

Towards evening the wind lulled, and we

resumed our course. At sun-set we had another short rest, for a beef-steak and tea. We then made our final effort, and reached the French brig Pandour, at nine o'clock P.M. my men being completely done up with hard work.

This brig was lying at Paisandu, to co-operate with General Fructuosa Riviera, and to protect an island just opposite, in which, as in a former instance, several refugee families had taken their abode. These poor fugitives were driven to their miserable island-asylums by the unnatural, cruel, and bloody war, then raging. Their property was destroyed by the pillage of a licentious soldiery, and the whole country ruined. Almost everything connected with industry and art, is nearly annihilated, excepting the live stock, which ramble, unknown and uncared for, in rapidly-increasing numbers. It is, indeed, melancholy to see a

land, so capable from situation, fertility, and salubrity of climate, to support an enormous population, completely laid waste by the profligate and barbarous ambition of individuals.

We were all received with the utmost kindness, cordiality, and hospitality, by the French captain and officers, who immediately served up a capital supper, and made us quite comfortable. The following morning, after a very excellent breakfast, *à la Française*, I received an answer to the different dispatches and letters from Captain Du Parque, who not only speaks, but writes, English remarkably well.

Bidding a cordial adieu to my kind and hospitable friends the officers, Messieurs Sagnier, Lhainé, and Du Penhoat, I pushed off from the Pandour, to return to my own vessel. My party, during the whole day after, could talk of nothing but the kindness they

had received from the "Good Pandours," as they expressed it. This vessel is a remarkably fine brig of new construction, lately built at L'Orient, and not only does great credit to the architect and dockyard which turned her out, but also to the officers who keep her fittings low and aloft, in such a useful and ornamental state. Take her altogether, she is apparently a pattern of what a man-of-war brig ought to be.

The town of Paisandu* is very pleasantly situate on an eminence, and is composed of two or three hundred houses, of which some are large mansions; but all in a state of utter dilapidation, and completely deserted. The Urugaay is, at this point, hardly one thousand yards broad; and the land on the town side is favourably situated for defence. So

* Paisandu has recently been the site of a bloody battle between the forces of Orribe and Riviera. The latter was defeated, with the loss of seven hundred men.

much so, that with very little trouble this point might be made so strong as to command the navigation of the river.

CHAPTER VI.

A Surprise—Blockade—Party of Cavalry—Contraband Trade—Expedition in the Corrientino Boat—Picturesque Creek—Quarrelsome Pheasants—A Bar of Sand—The Boat hauled across it—Mouth of the Roman Grande—Excursion for Charcoal—Skeletons of Murdered Sailors—Return to the Alecto—Mr. Hood's Mission.

On my return down the river in the boat, I had the curiosity to look in at the little cove, or natural dock, described in going up. To my great surprise, I found the dry sand-bank, or bar, over which I had to haul

the boat by main strength, now covered by water three feet deep. I could not account for this at the time, as the wind was still blowing strongly down the river from the north, which always had a tendency to lower the water. Making a note of the exact time, I consulted the Vernon's log-book on our return to Monte Video, and found, as I expected, that a strong breeze had been blowing there for twelve hours previously from south-east, which had suddenly operated in raising the river at this great distance from its mouth.

Friday.—The vessel was moved up to-day, to blockade the little river Negro.

The enemy, in a day or two, brought down a party of cavalry to watch our motions, and prevent our people killing any more cattle. But as they knew our shells had a long range, which they exaggerated very much, we supplied ourselves plentifully,

both with cattle and game, in spite of them.

For some days, we were very busy in repairing the Corrientino boat, which had been tugging at our tail for so long a time, and for so many hundred miles, and getting her in a fit state for use as a tender to prevent smuggling.

For several weeks, the Alecto remained at this anchorage, repeatedly boarding vessels bound from Monte Video to Entre Rios with licenses to trade; but it was notorious that their cargoes landed in Entre Rios were the next day transferred, in canoes and other conveyances, across the river to the enemy, who were thus supplied with powder, shot, muskets, and other munitions of war, which the Alecto could not possibly prevent.

On Thursday, August 14th.—I had an intimation to prepare for an expedition in

the Corrientino boat. In the afternoon, I received my orders, and at five o'clock shoved off in this wretched barge; which, however, was effectively manned, having ten stout fellows well armed. The cabin in which the officers lived, was a small pent-house, just sufficient to hold two small beds. It was perfectly impossible to sit upright in any part of it. The fore-deck was barely sufficient to cover the men at night, and all the centre was open. In spite of these inconveniences, every one was delighted with the change, for anything was better than the monotony of the steamer.

As the north wind appeared to be sighing its last breath out, all sail was immediately made to take advantage of it, and down we went in high glee. When the sun set, and darkness came on, we still continued our course, the channel being clear and wide, and the boat only drawing two feet

water. A huge blazing fire was kindled, and the men, congregated round it, made the cliffs and forests ring again with their löud choruses as we glided swiftly on.

At ten o'clock, getting to an intricate part of the river, we anchored close off an island, and waited for the dawn. When day broke, we perceived that a small creek ran in close to us, apparently dividing from the island, a narrow strip of land. As a current was running into it, we determined to take this passage in the boat, to shoot some pheasants, which are always numerous in such places. Orders were therefore left with the vessel to run down, and await our arrival off the first opening on the starboard-side. We then pulled into the creek, and gave way down. The widest part was not more than thirty yards, and in numerous places not ten, with huge limbs of timber-trees firmly interlaced over-head, and form-

ing, in some parts, dark vaults of foliage for fifty or sixty yards.

In these trees were numerous pheasants, feeding on a curiously-shaped fruit, something similar to the medlar, which had a hot, spicy, and aromatic flavour. It was clear that this fruit exclusively attracted the pheasants from all quarters, as each of the trees contained these birds, and some had upwards of a dozen quarrelling for the tempting food. It was easy to shoot any number; but only enough were killed for the day's consumption.

We advanced thus merrily for about two miles, when the water suddenly shoaled, the boat ran aground, and we perceived, some distance a-head of us, a bar, or bank of sand, stretching quite across the creek. Stepping out of the boat, with our trousers tucked well up, we proceeded to reconnoitre this obstacle, and found for about one hundred yards

little if any water, which was no where more than six inches; while on the further side the stream was so deep, that we could not touch the bottom with a fourteen-foot oar.

As it would have been a useless waste of time to pull all the way back, we determined to attempt hauling the little boat over this provoking bar. There were four of us, two men, little Purvis (a midshipman), and myself. With our united efforts we found we could hardly move the boat an inch. Everything of any weight was then removed out of her, and deposited on the sand bank. We now took the oars, placed them under the boat's bottom as rollers, and began to move her a-head with tolerable dispatch. In about half-an-hour we had succeeded in hauling her over, and launching her again in deep water. A short pull sufficed to take us out into the river, where the tender was perceived lying to, and looking anxiously for us. We

immediately boarded her, handed out our guns and game, bore up, and descended the river.

At five P.M. having arrived at our station, the mouth of the Roman Grande, we anchored a short distance inside it, made fast a warp to the shore to haul in by day, and out at night to avoid tigers, or anything else that might innocently walk on board in the dark.

Sunday, August 16th.—At day-light we hauled the boat close in to the steep shore, and cut away the bushes to make room for her. The morning service was read to the crew, which they listened to with great attention and respect. After dinner, taking four men well armed, we pulled up the creek to explore the country, and, if possible, as the evenings were very chilly, to procure some charcoal, which the pilot had informed us was lying in large heaps close to a deserted estancia.

As the enemy were generally in this vici-

nity, we had to proceed with great caution, and to reconnoitre the ground well. On landing, therefore, I carefully swept the whole country with my spy glass, from a small eminence. Not seeing any symptoms of opposition, we marched up to the heaps of charcoal, about two hundred yards inland, and speedily filled to the brim, two huge bread bags, which were soon deposited safely in the boat.

Several skeletons were here perceived on the beach, which we afterwards learnt were the remains of some unfortunate sailors who, like us, had landed for charcoal. But having imprudently neglected the necessary precautions, they had been coolly and deliberately murdered by the blancos. Before we pushed off, we buried two of these horrible relics, which were lying close to the landing place.

On returning down the creek, the report of

a musket was suddenly heard. This astonished us, as strict orders had been left not to fire unless under some emergency. Soon after, another report made us give way with our whole strength, as we were now sure that our immediate presence was required. On getting towards the entrance of the creek, we perceived the tender under way, standing off and on. In another minute we were on board her, eagerly inquiring what was the matter. To our great joy we found that the Lizard had passed up to relieve the Alecto, and that orders had been left for us to follow the former immediately. This was instantly done by bearing up to the commencement of a pamparo, which sent us a-head at such a rate that we found ourselves alongside the two vessels about eleven o'clock.

We immediately returned in the Alecto to Monte Video, where we were ordered to complete coal and provisions, and prepare to

take up Mr. Hood, the ex-consul, who had lately arrived from England, to try and arrange matters with Rosas at Buenos Ayres.

CHAPTER VII.

Discordant State of Monte Video—Parties in the Town Arrival at Buenos Ayres—The Alecto in a singular Position—A Chase—Nominal Blockade—Facility for Money-Making—How to Thrive—Failure of Mr. Hood's Negotiations.

At this period, the town of Monte Video was in a most discordant and chaotic state. The high functionaries of the two most powerful nations of Europe were, *de facto*, the rulers of this town, the nominal govern-

ment being entirely under their influence. Accordingly, the local authorities were ready to issue proclamations, make or unmake laws, mortgage the revenue, or carry out any other act which might be dictated to them.

The inhabitants were divided into several parties. Firstly, the speculators, whose trade in cottons, woollens, hardware, &c. was totally stopped by the existing hostilities. This class loudly condemned the war as useless in its effects, and ruinous to themselves. They likewise complained, that, upon the faith of the armed intervention of England, they had given extensive credit, and had thereby lost large sums of money. Secondly, the contractors. These were realising money by the extensive circulation of John Bull's coin, who was paying through the nose for the necessaries required by his ships and men. The contractors considered it would be a blot on the national

honour of England if the war was finished until the detestable Rosas was deposed. Thirdly, The government of Monte Video, who would rant and roar out fulsome patriotism, according to order.

The natives of the town were few, consisting only of shop-keepers, and clerks to the English houses, whose opinions were neither heard nor cared for. The remainder of the population was made up of Basques, Italians, and manumitted Negroes.

On Sunday, August 30th, we started for Buenos Ayres, which place we reached the following day. Mr. Hood immediately landed to have a conference with Rosas. The Alecto was now in a singular position. With the white flag hoisted, she had free communication with the capital city of the country, against which, for the preceding six months, she had been constantly fighting. Several other men-of-war, English and

French, were lying alongside her, doing their utmost to harass and stop the trading vessels from landing on the shores of the Argentine Republic.

The appearance of Buenos Ayres, from the roadstead, is very similar to Southampton from the anchorage, with the exception that Buenos Ayres is furnished with a large number of religious houses.

Some of the officers were walking on shore in the batteries which protected the sea-front of the city, when a small boat tried to run along the line of coast in order to gain a creek on the other side. The boats of the Firebrand (one of the blockading vessels) were immediately sent away in chase, and crowds of people assembled to see the fun. Much distant firing took place, and the pursuers gradually approached the city so closely that the sea-defences opened fire upon them. Now, it

is very reasonable to suppose that the populace of most countries would have been violently exasperated at this insult to their capital; but I am well informed, although certain officers of the Alecto were in the midst of them, there was nothing offensive in their manners; although the officers themselves felt the peculiarity of their position, in thus being in a battery which was firing at our own flag.

I was rather enlightened in my various conversations with different merchants, to find that no inconvenience whatever had been felt from the blockade; that most articles of luxury and necessity were much cheaper and more plentiful in Buenos Ayres than in Monte Video; and, that in fact, the blockade was one only in name. The merchants certainly were at first slightly checked in exporting the bulky articles of commerce, such as hides, tallow, &c.; but latterly the whole

produce had either been smuggled into Monte Video, or the authorities there had been bribed by the profit of the custom dues to allow the entry of the goods. Thus was the enormous expense of the blockade of the River Plate rendered worse than useless.

The extraordinary facility for making money here, is beyond anything of which I had ever heard. Indeed I am quite sure that any person of prudence and judgment might speedily realize a fortune. The following method, by which several uneducated Irish labourers have created a handsome competence, I can vouch for as a positive fact, which has occurred within the last three years.

It is a common thing for an Irish labourer to arrive at Buenos Ayres, not only without money, but without even a pocket sufficiently whole or strong to carry any; in fact, in rags and tatters. Here he will be engaged

immediately, if he pleases, to make ditches for fences far in the interior; in some cases, quite close to Patagonia, at a rate of payment amounting to a paper dollar per yard. If he chooses to work hard and be industrious, he can in one year make by these means very easily sixty pounds sterling; but, with great efforts one hundred and fifty. We will suppose him to realize the latter sum. At the year's end he returns from his remote station towards Buenos Ayres, and enters into an arrangement with some extensive landed proprietor or estanciero to look after his cattle; and, as payment, is allowed grazing for as many sheep as he likes to keep. He then buys with his one hundred and fifty pounds cash, fifteen hundred sheep! yes, fifteen hundred sheep! (the price now, September 1846). He then drives them to his master's property, who furnishes him with

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horses to look after his stock. He is thus enabled to combine the care both of herds and flocks. This improves his master's land, and at the same time is of benefit to the sheep, who breed twice a year. At the end of another year the wool alone of his flock will pay the entire prime cost of the sheep. Let us now see how the industrious labourer stands. Supposing the flocks to have increased one half, (much under the mark,) he would get cash from wool alone to the amount of one hundred and fifty pounds, and would possess a flock of two thousand two hundred and fifty sheep. If everything progresses favourably, and at this rate, his stock at the end of five years would be almost incalculable. This is, indeed, a tempting view of things to a small capitalist in any part of the old world, particularly if he happen to have a large family; but then there are serious drawbacks in the uncer-

tain state in which everything connected with South America now is.

In a few days, Mr. Hood having concluded his mission to Rosas, embarked once again in the Alecto, and we immediately returned to Monte Video. To every reflecting person, the failure of our envoy's attempt at peace-making, was a subject of deep and heartfelt regret, not only for the welfare of the country, which is damaged to an incalculable extent by a continuance of this useless and profligate war, but because it was openly stated and fully believed, that if all parties had been as deeply impressed with a desire to accommodate matters as their governments at home, they might have concluded at this time, a lasting and honourable peace, as creditable to themselves as beneficial to the trade and commercial prosperity of England, France, and South America.

CHAPTER VIII.

Departure—Lower orders of Monte Video—Tragical Event—Popular Indifference—Jack's Opinion—Procrastination in Sailing—Risings of the River—Currents and Counter-currents—Gales—Enormous Swell—Arrival at Rio—Modification of Duties on Brazilian Produce—Royal Christening—The Emperor and Empress—Voyage resumed—Moist Heat—Bulbs and Seeds from the Parana—The Sargasso Sea—Profusion of Animal Life—Arrival at Falmouth.

My health at this time began to fail; and, as active service in the Rio de la Plata was evidently at an end, it was considered advisable that I should seek a more bracing climate.

As the vessel, in which a passage had been secured for me, was not at the time ready to sail for Rio de Janeiro, I took up my quarters on shore, and was enabled to collect some particulars relative to the state of society in Monte Video.

Monday, October, 1846. — At eight o'clock I was sitting in the Custom-house guard-room, smoking a cigar with the officer in command, when the following incident occurred, exemplifying in a very striking light, the manners and tempers of the lower orders of the population of Monte Video.

An altercation had taken place between an old Spaniard and a South American. As it grew more violent, the parties left the pulperia, or wine-shop, where the difference had arisen, and advanced towards the guard-room. When within an hundred yards, they stopped, and reproached one

another with violent gesticulations. In a few minutes a number of persons had collected round them, amongst whom were two or three soranos, or policemen, who looked on, not as peace-officers attempting to stay the tumult, but rather as spectators enjoying the disturbance.

Suddenly, the native sprang under the drawn sword of one of the soranos, and, quick as thought, plunged his knife into the abdomen of the Spaniard. One of the lookers on, an Italian, perceiving the deadly intention of the assassin, rushed forward to stay the murderous blow. He was immediately shot dead by the pistol of one of the soranos.

This tragedy ended as might be expected. The old Spaniard staggered into the guard-room, and shortly afterwards died. The soranos repeatedly ejaculated "Caramba! caramba!" and then lit fresh cigars; mean-

time, the murderer ran away, and of course was not to be found afterwards.

Any individual who has not had personal experience of the state of these South American towns, would not believe, that so atrocious a deed was hardly talked about, much less judicially noticed. The only remark I heard about it, was from a party of sailors who were rolling casks from the victualling stores, to be shipped in the boats the following morning. As they were pushing their barrels in the track of the bloody stains made by the dying man, the following conversation took place.

"I say, Jack! is them there, pig's blood, or man's blood?"

"Why, you fool!" returned his companion, "pig's blood is much too dear to be wasted in that ere manner, in a siege like this!"

Little did Jack know with what truth

he had spoken, and how exactly he had hit the nail on the head.

The mails having arrived at Buenos Ayres, I prepared to embark in H.M. Brigantine, Dolphin, a "*chef-d'œuvre*" of Sir William Symonds, and quite sufficient to immortalize him, if he had never built another vessel. Three different times was the sailing of this packet put off by the minister. At length the merchants murmured loudly at such constant procrastination, and her sailing was positively announced, and again publicly posted, to take place on Tuesday evening.

On the faith of this formal notification, Captain Montgomery and myself embarked in the evening. The following day the departure was again postponed, and thus it continued day by day, until Friday night, when the mails came off; but alas, the fair gale that had blown steadily all this time, had now exhausted itself, as if indignant

at the seven or eight successive procrastinations which had mocked its offered assistance.

I observed a singular circumstance whilst lying at anchor here, which may account for some of the strange risings of the river about a hundred miles inland.

The first three days of the south-east wind caused a continuous current up the river; this gradually ceased for thirty or forty hours. When the estuary was filled, a re-action took place, and a very strong current set directly out to the eastward, in the very teeth of the gale.

It was evident that the wind forced a portion of the sea-water into the funnel-shaped mouth of these two large rivers, and was sufficiently powerful, for a certain time, to sustain the monstrous column which continued increasing in magnitude from the vast supplies of water eternally pouring

down from the tropical forests of Brazil, and the wild and unknown glaciers and precipices of the Cordillera. At length this liquid elevation arrived at such a height, that the body of water, obedient to the laws of nature, overcame the restraining gale, and, assisted by the rivers' current, rushed back violently into the open sea, causing a circular current, north-west on the southern shores of the Rio de la Plata, and due east on the northern, the turn, or circular motion, taking place a few miles above a line drawn from Point Indio on the one side, and Monte Video on the other. During the continuance of gales from south to east, after the estuary was filled, two currents (occasionally of great strength) were running in totally different directions.

Thus were we placed in the little Dolphin; a violent gale acting one way, and the fresh-water current the other; the consequence

was, that the poor vessel laid broadside on, rolling violently, as if chafed and angry at this unseasonable delay.

We had barely rounded Cape St. Mary, when the wind died away. Soon afterwards a gale from the north sprang up, and the poor Dolphin was detained by it for many days, as if in judgment for her previous slight of the favourable breeze. We remained for a week beating against a strong northerly gale, and did not gain two hundred miles.

Monday, November 9th.—The adverse wind suddenly died away: there was a dead calm for five minutes, and then a strong and favourable top-gallant breeze sprang up. The yards were immediately squared, and the little Dolphin, at the rate of ten knots, bounded forward against an enormous swell, the legacy of the departed gale.

It was indeed a beautiful sight to witness

her rapid progress. After momentarily resting on the bosom of an enormous swell, which the suddenly-changing gale had not had time to alter, down she went the precipitous watery cliff, dipping her jib-boom and bowsprit under water, and, as she rose, like an animated being, appeared to give herself a shake, and prepare her energies to rush violently up, and cleave the frothy crest of the approaching hill of waters. She withstood this severe trial without the slightest strain.

Seated on the taffrail, we were content to remain some time in admiration, frequently perceiving the water over the fore-yard.

In a few hours the swell changed its direction in our favour.

On Saturday, November 14th, we arrived at Rio, and I immediately took my passage home in one of H.M. packets.

The climate of Rio at this time was deli-

cious, owing in a great measure to the southerly winds being prevalent.

The modification of duties on Brazilian produce having recently become law in England, it was amusing to perceive the exaggerated view, taken on the subject by the native merchants, more especially as relates to sugar, and furniture woods. The latter in particular had risen so much in value, that it was literally cheaper in the cabinet makers' shops in England, than at the wholesale price in the capital of Brazil.

Fortunately, the four days of our stay were chosen to celebrate the christening of the emperor's second daughter. This ceremony was conducted with great magnificence; the illuminations in the evenings were much more splendid than I ever beheld in any part of the world. The enormous expence of these festivities astonished me not a little, and were rather at variance with

the known state of the Brazilian exchequer. I was credibly informed that the expense alone of the illuminations was equal to three thousand pounds sterling.

I had the good fortune to obtain a seat in a friend's box at the opera, exactly opposite the emperor and empress. His appearance was that of a tall and good-looking youth of eighteen years of age, much fairer than one would expect from the heat of his country. The empress looked rather older, and as if jaded by a residence in a tropical climate. The royal pair were very attentive to the performance, and rarely exchanged a word.

I was astonished to find the air much cooler and purer than I ever felt it in Her Majesty's Theatre in London, which, considering the latitude, is a remarkable thing.

The voyage home I fear will have but slight interest for the general reader. When

becalmed near the equator, the lassitude caused by the moist heat was most distressing. At one moment such violent rain poured down that we almost dreaded the skylights would be driven in; and anon, the fierce rays of a nearly vertical sun caused every part of the vessel, previously saturated with wet, to steam as if she was boiling. This damp heat was so penetrating, that several valuable bulbs, packed closely in boxes, and stowed in the holds, sprouted and flowered. Some Orchidacæ, also from Paraguay and Upper Peru, which were suspended from the quarter davit guys, apparently quite scorched up and withered, not only came to life again, but bloomed most beautifully.*

* I have heard that some of the Parana seeds of the large white convolvus brought by me to England, have been most successfully cultivated under the scientific management of Mr. Davis, gardener to Lord Bridport, at Cricket. One of the plants is called the Ipomœa Bona

It is difficult to describe the affectionate interest taken in these new and rare flowers, thus enlivening the dreary and pathless ocean.

As we drew away from the vertical rays of the sun, the climate, to our relieved sensations, felt most balmy and delicious, and our good ship appeared to glide through a transparent cloud, throwing up riplets of frosted silver, so clear and smooth was the sea for days together.

At length, we entered the Sargasso sea, and ploughed through immense fields of the weeds that give the name. It was singular to observe the animal life teeming even here.

Nox. The flower is remarkable for its sweet scent and handsome appearance, being four or five inches in diameter, extended on a slender, trumpet-shaped stem. It always opens its blossoms late in the evening, and closes them as soon as the sun rises in the morning. This is a curious fact, as those that were gathered in South America, were always in full beauty during the day.

Upon drawing a small portion of weed up the vessel's side with a boat hook, numerous minute crabs of a speckled dusky appearance were disengaged from the mass, and occasionally a few lilliputian shrimps. The instant they were confined together in a tumbler, the crabs made an onslaught on the shrimps, and in a very short time devoured them.

Soon the good ship drew out of these fair but lonely scenes, and upon approaching the Western islands had a foretaste of the rough northern climate to which she was proceeding.

On the 6th of January, 1847, we arrived at Falmouth, thankful for the termination of a long and monotonous voyage.

CONCLUSION.

The pages which are now drawn to a conclusion, are selections from a copious diary, always kept by the author on service. Many themes on which he was anxious to enlarge, have been excluded, as foreign to the main subject of the present volumes.

In the humble hope that some young officers of the finest service in the world, our royal navy, may perchance look over these pages, the writer ventures to commend to them, the remarks of a celebrated author, who says, " If we look back in life and analyze the cause of any misfortune which has happened to us, we shall generally perceive

that it arose from some fault of our own temper." This is indeed too true; and it is likewise certain that more breaches of discipline, consequently more punishment, annoyance, disaffection, and impatience, arises from a want of temper than from any, or all, of the other causes combined.

SKETCHES OF SOUTH AMERICA,

ILLUSTRATIVE OF

ALLUSIONS IN THE FOREGOING NARRATIVE,

TO THE

GEOGRAPHY, NATURAL HISTORY, INHABITANTS, ETC.,

OF

THAT PART OF THE WORLD.

With very few exceptions, the following sketches are derived from a work on South America, by Don Felix Azara, of which no part, it is believed, has hitherto appeared in the English language. This author, celebrated among naturalists, and often quoted by Cuvier, was sent by the Spanish government to South America, in 1781, with the rank of lieutenant-colonel, as one of the commissioners from Spain, to act in conjunction with those appointed by Portugal for the settlement of disputed boundaries of the territories of those two nations in that country, in conformity with their treaty of 1778. The Spanish commissioners soon accomplished their task; but the Portuguese, unwilling to give up what they had usurped, delayed as much as they could, the final settlement of the business. These delays afforded Azara leisure to travel and collect that information which he afterwards embodied in his work on Paraguay. On his return to Europe, in 1801, he sold his manuscript to M. Denton, a French bookseller, who caused it to be translated into French, and entrusted its editorship to the celebrated naturalist Walckenaa, who added a few notes to the work. From this French edition it was translated into *bad* Spanish, in 1833, by Bernardino Rivadavia, a native of Buenos Ayres, and published at Monte Video, in 1846, in the "Biblioteca del Comercio del Plata."

SKETCHES

OF

SOUTH AMERICA.

CLIMATE.

A DAMP atmosphere prevails everywhere in this country, to the great injury of household furniture. This is particularly the case at Buenos Ayres, where the floors of houses exposed to the south are always damp; the walls similarly exposed are covered with mildew; and upon the roof on that side grow thick plants, three feet high, which it is necessary to clear away two or three times a year, to

prevent gutters and filtration. But this dampness is not injurious to health. It seldom happens that vapours condense so as to cause fogs. The sky is bright and clear; and I have been told it has never snowed at Buenos Ayres more than once, and then very slightly. This phenomenon caused the same sensation among the people of that country as rain does among those of Lima. Hail is not frequent; nevertheless in the storm of the 7th of October, 1789, a hailstone fell, twelve leagues from Assumption, which contained three stones, three inches in diameter. At all seasons, but more particularly in summer, thunderstorms are frequent and violent, and the lightning is vivid; thunderbolts fall there with a frequency ten times greater than in Spain, particularly during storms coming from the north-west. Many persons fell victims to the electric fluid at Paraguay, in the storm of 1793. Thirty different places were struck with it in the city of Buenos Ayres, and nineteen individuals killed.

There is no country in the world more salubrious than the one now described. The contiguity of

swamps and bogs does not in the slightest degree injure the health of the inhabitants.

RIVERS AND LAKES.

Those well acquainted with the country state that when the easterly and south-easterly winds cause the river at Buenos Ayres to rise seven feet above its ordinary level, the effects are perceptible even at a distance of sixty leagues on the Parana; and from experiments made with the barometer by the boundary commissioners, in execution of the treaty of peace in 1750, it was found that the river Paraguay, in its course from north to south, has a declivity of less than one foot per nautical mile within the latitude 16° 24′ and 22° 57′.

This flatness in so extensive an area, deserves some attention. The famous Cordillera of the Andes, and its eastern slopes, forming the western limits of this region, to the extent of seven hundred and twenty leagues, must of necessity discharge their spring and rain waters towards the east, in a multitude of streams and rivers, and

yet scarcely any of these small streams or rivers reach the sea, either directly, or through the rivers Paraguay or Parana, owing to the level nature of the ground adjacent to the Cordilleras: so that the descending waters settle on the plain without taking a decided course, and evaporate insensibly like the rain which falls upon these flats.

Another consequence of this is, that the country can never be irrigated by artificial means, and that neither water-mills, nor any other hydraulic engines, will ever be known there. Nor will it be possible to convey water through pipes to a fountain, as the rivers and streams possess a declivity barely sufficient for the purposes of a canal or aqueduct. The whole country being almost horizontal, Buenos Ayres, as well as many other cities situated on the banks of a river, will never be able to have the water conveyed into the houses, except by means of pumps. A country like this must naturally abound with lakes; these must be very extensive and shallow, and liable to get dry in summer; for, as the ground does not afford sufficient drainage, the rain water not absorbed by it must settle in the deepest places;

but in such a country the places cannot be very deep, hence the formation of superficial and extensive marshes. The following description affords a surprising instance of all the before-mentioned effects. The famous lake of Los Xarayes, is formed by the conflux of all the currents of water produced by the heavy rains which fall on the mountains and in the province of Chiquitos, during the months of November, December, January, and February, and which contribute also to the formation of the great river Paraguay, at its source. This river not being capable of containing all the waters that fall into it, overflows both its banks, owing to the flatness of the country. As rain is much more abundant one year than another, the lake expands in the same proportion; and its shape or circumference is caused by the horizontal peculiarity of the ground. This lake is extremely irregular, so much so, that it is impossible to give a correct description of it. I shall therefore state its extent, first on the east of Paraguay, and then on the other side.

This lake rises near latitude 17°, where it is twenty leagues wide on the left of the Paraguay. It

preserves the same magnitude as far as latitude 22°, that is, for the space of about one hundred leagues, not reckoning the sugar loaf (Pan de Azuear) and other small mountains which it surrounds. On the right of that river this lake commences in lat. 16° 30′, and continues to lat. 17° 30′, penetrating many leagues into the province of Chiquitos. Its extent is about one hundred and seventy leagues long and forty wide, and yet no part of it is navigable, on account of its shallowness. Some ancient authors believe this lake to be the source of the Paraguay, whereas it is precisely the reverse. There are multitudes of lakes similar to this one, which must, in consequence, diminish the quantity of land fit for cultivation.

MOUNTAINS AND ROCKS.

The mountains, great and small, are formed of gravelly, not calcareous, rocks, varying in hardness and grain. Here and there are to be seen, stones of the same description protruding through the surface of hills; and in some places are found rocks rising from the ground to the height of thirty-six feet.

It might be affirmed that the country situated to the east of the rivers Paraguay and Paraná is formed of a stratum, covering a piece of solid rock, which extends the whole length and breadth of this region. This rock is found at Monte Video and Maldonado and on the frontiers of Brazil, so near the surface, that within the area of one thousand square leagues, there is not a sufficient quantity of land fit for cultivation: trees cannot take root, nor water penetrate. This disadvantage does not exist in the Chaco; nor in the country west of the rivers in question. Where the ground is more level, the rock seems to be at a depth of forty-two feet; the same may be said of the river Plate on the southern side.

I have seen in some of the heights on the frontiers of Brazil, a kind of stone very white, vitreous and hard, not in the least gravelly, very different from the other rocks, and apparently impossible to work. Slates of a blue and yellowish tint are to be found in some of the hillocks. In the town of Yati there is a mine of loadstone, of different qualities; the yard of the

curate's house in that town is paved with that mineral. In various parts of the river Paraguay, hones are to be found; some of them are fit for razors, but all of them do not absorb the oil sufficiently. In some places are also to be found stones called *cocos* containing crystals of various faces and agreeable forms, like the pips of a pomegranate and of different colours. A few isolated pieces of gypsum are met with in the bed of the Parana. The solid rock I have before mentioned lying under the surface of these plains is covered by a blackish argil, so coloured by the putrid remains of vegetable substances, with an under stratum of greater hardness and of various colours. The white argil after being dissolved in water is used for white-washing country houses in the place of lime. The red and yellow are used for painting bars and railings. By purifying the yellow argil, a fine ochre is obtained. A blackish argil found in the valleys, is manufactured into pans, plates, and earthenware vessels of fair quality, although baked by merely filling them up with burning wood, which is left until entirely consumed.

SAND AND SALT.

In deep ditches or drains formed by the rain, a fine kind of black sand is found, often under a covering of white sand equally fine in quality, which is easily blown off, as the black contains iron, and therefore is heavier and consequently attracted by the loadstone. There is a hill to the south of the river Plate composed of this sand, and very useful for nautical watch glasses.

With regard to salt, we must establish a division of the country into two parts, the first consisting of all the eastern side of the Paraguay and Parana, and the second extending from the river Plate to the south. In the first division, all the waters of the streams and lakes are sweet, that to the north of the river Plate, or in the plains of Monte Video and Maldonado. All kinds of cattle greedily search for and eat dry bones, and as they advance towards the north they eat an earth found in ditches called *barrero* a species of salt chalk. As these fail (as is the case in some eastern districts of Paraguay) all cattle infallibly die at the end of four

months. It is surprising with what eagerness they look for and eat this salt chalk, if they have only been deprived of it for one month. When they find it, the hardest blows will hardly make them leave the place, and sometimes they eat so much that they die of indigestion. Great quantities of this chalk is found in the stomach of the Tapir, and it is said no animal or bird who lives much upon grass or plants can do without it. Man, however, seems exempt from this rule; for in this country destitute as they are of salt, nations of Indians certainly existed whose principal food was vegetable substances, and who were ignorant of the use of salt.

The Ubaga, and Guaya tribes used the ashes of burnt herbs made into balls, which they mix with their food. These ashes are saline. Persons ignorant of this have been led to suppose that they eat earth.

In the second division, the reverse of all this is the case. There is not a single stream, or lake, or well, in the whole part, that is not brackish in summer, or when rain is scarce. Even rivers partake of this saltness when they are very low.

One hundred and thirty leagues from Buenos Ayres in a west-south-west direction, there is a lake always full of salt; it is collected once a year and taken to Buenos Ayres, where it is preferred to European salt, as it is found better adapted for curing meat.

These soils no doubt contain nitre, for it was formerly collected for the purpose of making gunpowder. In Paraguay, in order to obtain salt, they collect, in dry weather, the white efflorescence found in the valleys, which they dissolve in water, and afterward boil to crystalize the salt. By a similar means saltpetre was once manufactured.

IRON.

About sixty leagues from the city of Santiago there is a solid piece of iron, which is pliant and malleable to the anvil; though it yields to the file, it is so hard, that shears get notched and sometimes break in cutting it. This mass contains much zinc and on this account it resists the action of the air. Its surface is irregular, and has the appearance of having had large pieces cut off. It

is situated on a vast plain where there is not a single pebble or stone to be seen. This mass of iron is stationed horizontally on an argillaceous surface. It is no ways sunk into the earth, which was ascertained by excavating a little on one side which immediately caused the mass to lean. It is a matter of speculation how this iron came there, as there is not a single iron mine in the whole of South America.

THE PARAGUAY.

On the first arrival of the Spaniards they called this river Paraguay; which means the river of the Paraguas tribe, alluding to their being its only navigators throughout the whole extent. The Spaniards gave this name also to the province watered by this river.

The Paraguay runs entirely in a southerly direction and falls into the Parana. It is navigable for schooners from latitude 16° to its mouth, although a very narrow channel of it is free from reefs and other obstacles, and is always sufficiently deep.

THE PARANA.

This river rises in the mountains between latitude 17° 30′ and 18° 30′ S. It is formed by several streams and currents which take a southerly direction. At first the Parana is swelled by numerous streams which flow into it. Many of them are of considerable size; of this class are the Uguazii, the Paraguay and the Uruguay; after receiving the last mentioned river it changes its name to La Plata.

The Parana is much more rapid and violent in its course than the Paraguay, because it rises in the Brazils where the ground has greater declivity. * At Corrientes it has an incalculable number of islands, some of which are very large. The water of this river is considered excellent, although trunks of trees and bones are frequently found in it in a petrified state. Notwithstanding the enormous volume of water it contains, the Parana is not navigable all the way, owing to the number of reefs and cataracts in it. This river contracts all at once into a single channel of extreme narrowness, down which the whole mass rushes and tumbles with tremendous fury. It would seem as if, proud

of its size, and the rapidity of its waters, it aimed at shaking the earth to its very centre. These waters do not fall perpendicularly, but on an inclined plane. The spray or vapour which rises from the bottom of the precipice is seen many leagues off in the form of pillars; the noise is heard at the distance of six leagues. The lake Ybera receives neither river, stream, nor any other current of water, and remains with scarcely any variation all the year round. It is fed by the filtration alone of the river Parana. There is not another instance of this in the whole world. This filtration not only supplies the water of the four rivers alluded to, but that which evaporates in a surface of at least a thousand square miles, so that the quantity evaporated per day cannot be less than seventy thousand pipes, according to Halley's experiments, and it ought to be higher, owing to that country being warmer than England.

The source of the Uruguay is on the western mountains near Santa Catalina, in latitude 26° S, it runs over a long tract of country, and then joins the Parana, both of which form part of the river Plate.

FISH.

I shall only mention a few kinds of the numerous fishes that are to be found in these rivers: Anquilas (eels,) Viejas (old women,) Pijes reyes (king fish,) Linguados (Soles,) Manguruyires, weighing about a hundred weight, Pacus of twenty pounds, (perch,) Dorados about twenty pounds, but very different from those found in the sea, and more beautiful, Rayas (ray,) very large, that bite when trod upon and cause inflammation attended with violent pain, and Palometas that have teeth so strong and sharp that they tear out the piece they bite. The greatest caution is required whilst bathing; if you stand still in the water, this fish bites you most cruelly, a misfortune which has happened to many. Various other kinds of fish are found, also turtles, but the latter differ from those caught in the sea.

PLANTS.

I have remarked that around houses and all places inhabited by man, thistles, mallows, nettles and.

other common plants grow, plants that I have never found in deserted places. Man has only to frequent a road, though it be merely on horseback, and some of the above named plants are sure to spring upon its edges, although they never existed there before, nor in the neighbouring fields. It seems, therefore, as if the presence of man and quadrupeds produces a change in the vegetable world which destroys the original plants to make room for new ones. From the river Plate to the Straits of Magellan, trees and shrubs are extremely scarce. The inhabitants use for fuel, bones, thistles, tallow and mares' grease. In Buenos Ayres and even in Monte Video these articles are excessively used; they have also recourse to peach trees which are planted exclusively for that purpose in large quantities.

There is a tree called Higueron, very common in Paraguay; it is thickly covered with branches and umbrageous foliage of large size, and has a trunk, as if formed of the union of several others intertwined, and shaped in some instances like the handles of vases. Sometimes from the highest part of the joints of the branches of a large tree I have

seen issuing another tree of the same height, the roots of which hang separately down to the earth perpendicularly; then they unite so closely together and round the old trunk, that they entirely hide the tree on which they began to grow. But the highest branches of the first tree remain free and isolated, till they decay and fall off. Branches and leaves of different species issue from the same trunk.

When this parasite tree stands upon a rock, the latter is in like manner enclosed by all around it, so that the tree which at first may only be a few inches thick, acquires after it has covered the rock a size of three or more feet.

Some of the family of Cacti had a trunk from twenty to twenty-four feet high; as round and polished as if it had been turned on a lathe. This trunk, bare of leaves throughout its length, supported a flat, round canopy of branches, or rather, leaves.

There is a beautiful tree called the wood lily, so named from the bright violet flowers it produces which turn white afterwards. The effect is very pretty, and it might be an ornamental addition to

our gardens. I must not omit mentioning a few of the parasite plants that are so numerous here. The twining kind are very plentiful and various in the forests; they creep up and down the largest trees, crossing one another, and encircling the trunks so tightly that they have the appearance of one plant. There are also a great variety of air-plants, some of which are remarkable for the beautiful form of their flowers, and others for their fragrance. In this country are abundance of aloes containing more or less water, cool, and clear as crystal, which is frequently had recourse to by travellers. It is proved by authentic documents that Paraguay once supplied Buenos Ayres with wheat, but now it happens to be just the contrary, owing to the seed having degenerated for want of proper care.

Tobacco is much cultivated; it is of good flavour but very weak. The sugar cane and cotton plant are much grown in Paraguay, but the cold weather is very injurious to both. The sugar is of excellent quality, but little is exported to Buenos Ayres, as the inhabitants of Paraguay find it now advantageous to manufacture it into molasses and spirits.

Several kinds of sweet potatoes of excellent quality are found in most parts of this country; they are either white or purple; the best kind is about four or five inches thick by twenty long; the skin is reddish, the pulp white, and the flavour excellent. Other kinds of vegetables are cultivated, as beans, peas, lentils, &c.

INSECTS.

Owing to the fineness of the climate in this country, innumerable quantities of small animals and insects abound. I shall only mention a few of the most remarkable. Ants are very numerous in Paraguay; these insects work all the year round, as the weather is much warmer than in Europe. It is difficult to keep from the depredation of these minute creatures sugar or syrup. People are obliged to place such saccharine stores on a table, the legs of which rest in pails of water. This will generally do; but I have seen the ants construct a bridge an inch wide and nine long, by closely uniting their bodies, over which

the others would run across to one of the legs of the table; the only effectual remedy is tar, whilst it remains soft. Sugar, &c. may be removed from one room to another, the latter of which they will be some time discovering; but if one of them should inadvertently have been allowed to remain, it will immediately apprize the others, which will then all follow to the new locality. The fetid ant has no visible habitation, nor is it known on what it feeds. In Paraguay, but not in Buenos Ayres, it issues forth at night, particularly two days previous to a great change in the weather, and in such swarms as to cover the rooms, however large they may be. They quickly devour spiders, crickets, beetles, and all other kinds of insects they can find; leaving no place or box unvisited. It is said they sting adders to death; but it is certain they make men leave their beds and run out into the air. Fortunately, months and even years pass without the occurrence of this phenomenon. To expel them from a room it is only necessary to scatter about the floor a little burnt paper, and in a very short time they will all disappear.

On one occasion I saw a swarm of winged ants cover the roof of a small house two inches deep. All birds, not excepting hawks, eat these insects.

There are two kinds of luminous beetles in this country; the smallest of them throws out its light from the hind part of its body, the larger one through its eyes, from which is sent a radiance sufficiently strong to read by.

One kind of spider, two inches long, has large teeth and is very hairy; its bite causes swellings and convulsions, which, however, rarely prove fatal. Another species found in Paraguay make round cocoons half an inch in diameter of a fine orange yellow, which is collected for spinning, as its colour is permanent; it has however been remarked that the spinners of the cocoons are subject to a running at the nose and eyes. There is another kind which during the night, without being felt, sucks the lips of persons asleep, causing a blister to appear next morning. A still further species lives in communities of more than a hundred; it constructs a nest larger than a hat, which it suspends from a tree, or from the eave of a roof, by the centre of the crown, so that

it may be sheltered on its highest point; from this nest, all the way round, issue a number of threads from fifty to sixty feet long, white and thick, which are intersected by others, for the purpose of catching the winged ants. These spiders die off entirely in the winter, but leave eggs in their nests, which are developed the following spring.

Locusts appear in Paraguay in the beginning of October, and in such enormous swarms, that on one occasion I mistook a flight of them for a large cloud, which was two hours in passing over. When these winged legions leave the country, the inhabitants can make sure of being free from their visitation the following year. But if they settle in hard soils, they dig holes, in which they deposit about forty or fifty eggs each. This causes general distress, as the eggs produce in December small black locusts, which unite in numerous flocks, increasing in size. They are at work night and day, devouring every thing; but are unable to fly till the month of February, when they change their skin, and their wings gradually become stronger. They climb up trees and bushes, which they entirely

hide with their bodies; there they remain motionless, and without feeding for a week, when, taking advantage of a clear moon-light night, they depart, no one knows where.

Numerous kinds of European insects are found here, such as crickets, centipedes, scorpions, cockroaches, moths, hornets, wasps, bees, mosquitos, ticks, &c.

SNAKES.

The Curiyu is a large snake of frightful appearance, heavy on land, but not in water; it is gentle and inoffensive. This reptile generally lives in rivers and marshes. It gets on board sailing vessels, by clinging to the rudder, and devours poultry and even biscuit; I have heard that it will follow vessels for days together. The viper called Naianina is so nimble that it springs up to bite the legs of horsemen while galloping. They lean on their tails when springing, which they always do backwards, so that it is necessary to attack them in front.

FELINE ANIMALS.

The family of cats is the most numerous among the quadrupeds, for there are nine species. Three of them are large and strong; the others might easily be domesticated, and would be found better rat-catchers than the present common species. The Yaguarete is the strongest, and is more ferocious than a lion; in colour it resembles a panther. Its mode of killing its prey is a proof of its strength, for it will spring upon a bull or horse, place one of its paws on the throat, and the other on the muzzle, and twist its neck in an instant. This beast is also fond of fish, which it catches by throwing a little saliva to attract the prey, and then, striking them with its paw, draws them on land; but it only fishes in lakes or swamps. The Yaguarete fears nothing, and will approach any number of men, seize upon one and begin to eat him, without even taking the trouble of killing him first.

FERRETS.

There is a species of ferret here that lives in fields; if pursued, it darts, without missing, on any one coming within four yards of it. It emits phosphoric fluid, of so fetid a nature, that neither man nor beast can bear the odour. Should only one drop fall upon your clothes, you are obliged to throw them away, as not all the washing in the world would remove this pestiferous stench. It may be smelt at the distance of a league. Were the animal to discharge this fluid in the centre of a large town, all the inhabitants would be obliged to leave the place.

HORSES.

From lat. 30°, many horses are found in a wild state; but although they are descended from the Andalusian race, they do not possess either the size, elegance, strength, or agility of the parent steeds. These wild horses live in entire liberty on the plains, in herds of some thousands. They will

form into a column, in order to attack the tame horses, as soon as they perceive them, even at the distance of two leagues. Eventually they either surround the latter, or, passing alongside of them, neigh softly, and succeed in enticing them away. The inhabitants of these countries hunt the wild horses perseveringly, in order to remove them far from their breeding stock, and prevent the tame ones being decoyed. These ferine steeds run with impetuous fury, and blindly dash against the first obstacle in their way, when an attack is made to separate them. Another instance of their furious temper is observable in seasons of drought, when they will make a desperate start all in a body, in quest of some ditch or water hole, and when they have found one they precipitate themselves into it, the first being trampled and crushed to death by those that follow. I have found more than once above a thousand carcases of wild horses killed in summer in this manner. They are all of a chesnut or dark bay colour, while the tame kind are of all colours. The latter are also numerous; the price of a common one does not

exceed two dollars, and it is even less in Buenos Ayres. In Paraguay, a mare and foal cost only two rials, (about a shilling.) These horses are very badly used, being made to work for two or three days together, without giving them food or water during that time, and they are never placed under shelter. The herds are allowed to run about the country, without any person to take care of them, or break them in: their owners contenting themselves with mustering them from time to time in a paddock, and not allowing them to leave the lands belonging to the farm; for this purpose they are brought together once a week.

HORNED CATTLE.

Herds of horned cattle are very numerous, both wild and tame, which do not differ from those of Andalusia and of Salamanca, except in being less ferocious. About one million hides are yearly exported to Spain. The colour of the tame cattle vary; that of the wild is permanent and invariable, namely, a dark red on the upper part of the body, and the remainder all black.

SHEEP AND GOATS.

Sheep and goats increase rapidly in this country. Their only shepherds are dogs, which turn the sheep out of their folds in a morning, take them to the fields, watch over them during the whole day, not allowing a single one to stray, and protect them from every attack. At dusk they make them return to their fold. Care is taken to feed the dogs well in the morning; for if they should feel hungry whilst out with the sheep they would make them return home, even in the middle of the day. In order further to prevent this accident, a piece of meat is hung to their necks, so that they may eat it if pressed by hunger, but it must not be sheep's flesh, as the most violent hunger will not induce them to eat it.

ABORIGINES.

As man is the principal and most interesting subject in the description of a country, I make a

few observations on a vast number of Indian nations, which have never been subject to the Spanish, or any other, dominion. Neither the conquerors, nor missionaries, ever thought of giving a faithful description of any of these natives; the former had in view only the extolling of their deeds, and the latter the over-rating of their labours.

Their numbers have been greatly exaggerated, and they are to this day in the same state of freedom as that they enjoyed on the first arrival of the Spanish. They are all wandering tribes, but within a certain district, for it rarely happens that one of them encroaches upon the territory occupied by another; on the contrary, they are generally separated by a desert of vast extent.

Don Philip Azara proceeds to describe the various tribes of Indians at great length. It will suffice for our purpose to give a list of their different names, and any particulars of interest attached to them.

THE LIST OF INDIAN TRIBES.

1 The Charruas.
2 —— Pampas.
3 —— Aucas.
4 —— Guaranis.
5 —— Tupis.
6 —— Guayunas.
7 —— Nuaras.
8 —— Guasarapas.
9 —— Guatas.
10 —— Aguiteguedichagas.
11 —— Ninaguiguilas.
12 —— Guanas.
13 —— Albayas.
14 —— Payaguas.
15 —— Guaicuras.
16 —— Lenguas.
17 —— Enimagas.
18 —— Guentuse.
19 —— Tobas.
20 —— Pitilagas.
21 —— Aguilat.
22 —— Macobys.
23 —— Abipones.
24 —— Vilelas.
25 —— Farages.

The first of these tribes, the Charruas possesses a peculiar language different from all others, and so gutteral that no European alphabet is fit to express its syllables. At the time of the Spanish conquest, they were a wandering tribe, and occupied the northern bank of the Rio de la Plata. This tribe murdered Juan Diaz de Solis, who first discovered that river.

This murder was the cause of a war which was accompanied by horrible atrocities, and only ended by the almost entire extermination of the natives, and the establishment of the Spaniards in their

place. In 1724 Monte Video was founded, and from that period they were gradually driven from the coast in a northerly direction, an operation effected through many a fierce combat. By this time the Charruas had exterminated the tribes of the Yaros and Bohanes; but had allied themselves with the Minuanes for their mutual defence against the Spaniards. These last, whose numbers went on increasing greatly in Monte Video, were continually adding to their own, new territories on the north, and began to establish *estancias* (South American farms or domains,) for the breeding of cattle. The Spaniards at length succeeded in forcing part of these Charruas and Minuanes to join the southernmost settlements of the Jesuits' missions on the Uruguay; others have been compelled to take up their abode in Buenos Ayres, and a few of them have been made to lead a quiet life in Cagasta, near the town of Santa Fé de la Vera Cruz.

But a portion of this nation still remains unsubdued, and, though wandering, usually inhabits the eastern bank of the Uruguay, towards lat. 31°

or 32°. This portion carries on the war without mercy, obstinately refusing to listen to peaceful terms, and frequently attacking even the Portuguese. The male sex has always a barbota, or appendage to the lower lip, contrived in the following manner: a few days after the birth of a child its mother pierces its under lip through at the root of the teeth, introducing into the hole a small piece of wood four or five inches long, and two in diameter. They never take out this piece of wood except to replace it if broken.

Their dwellings at the present time do not cost them much labour in building; from the first tree at hand, they cut off three or four large branches, the ends of which they stick into the ground, forming thereby as many arches; on these three or four arches they spread a bullock's hide, and this makes a house sufficiently large for a man, his wife and some children; when it is found too small to contain an increased number of members of the family, they construct a similar one contiguous to the first; and each family does the same. It can easily be conceived that they only enter these

dwellings like rabbits into their holes. They sleep upon hides and always upon their backs. They wear no clothes, but if they can obtain a poncho or a hat, they use it in cold weather. The women cover themselves with a cotton shirt, or the skin of a Yaguarete.

These Indians live upon the flesh of wild cattle, which abounds in their district. The women cook, but all their cooking consists in roasting; and without using salt; they stick the meat on a wooden spit, which they fix in the ground near the fire; they only turn it once, and several pieces are thus arranged at one time round the fire, so that when one of them has been devoured they take up another immediately. Whenever any one of these savages feels the cravings of hunger, no matter at what time of the day or night, he takes up one of the spits, fixes it in the ground and roasts and eats whatever he thinks proper, without paying the least attention to any one, or saying a single word, though the husband, wife and children be eating of the same piece. They drink only after they have done eating. They are unacquainted with games of any kind, dances, songs, musical instruments,

and even social conversation. Their demeanour is so grave, that their affections and passions cannot be detected: their laughter is limited to a partial opening of their lips, and they never make even the slightest noise in laughing; they speak almost in a whisper, and never shout, not even in the agonies of a violent death.

The heads of families assemble at dusk, in order to choose those who are to act as sentries during the night, and station them at their posts: they are so cautious and watchful that they never omit this precaution. If any one of them has planned an attack or defence, he communicates the same to this assembly, who execute it if approved of; at these councils they sit in a circle in a squatting posture. But even when a plan has been adopted by the assembly, no one is bound to assist in its execution, not even the person by whom it was proposed, and no punishment is inflicted on the absentees.

When any of them has but one horse left, the husband rides it, and his wife and children follow him on foot, and loaded besides with all his chattels.

These Indians are naturally grave and silent, and unacquainted with ostentation and difference of ranks, ornaments, and amusements. The serious business of matrimony, so strongly enforced by nature, is transacted by these savages with almost as much coolness as a pleasure party is formed amongst Europeans. The affair is limited to the asking of the parents' consent and taking the girl home as soon as permitted by them. A refusal is never given by the women, who marry the first man that proposes, let him be ever so old or ugly. As soon as a man is married, he forms a separate family, for the support of which he works, having till then lived at his parents' expense, without doing any thing, going to war, or attending counsels.

When an Indian dies they carry the corpse to a place destined for that purpose, and bury, it with his arms, dress, &c. Some of them order their favourite horse to be killed on their graves, which is executed by some relative or friend. The family weep a good deal for the dead, and their mourning is as singular as it is cruel. When the deceased is a parent, a husband, or an adult brother, the

wife, daughters and sisters, if adult, cut off one of their finger joints, and this is done every time that one of these deaths occur, beginning with the little finger. Besides this they pierce their arms, breasts, and other parts from the waist upwards, with the knife or spear of the defunct, as I have myself witnessed. In addition to these bodily inflictions they pass two moons in retirement within their huts, weeping all the time, and taking hardly any nourishment. I never met with any of these women that had all her fingers, or was not marked with scars. A husband does not mourn for the death of his wife, nor a father for that of his child.

THE PAMPAS.

This name is given by the Spaniards to an Indian nation, living in a wandering state, between lat. 36 and 39°, in the immense plains called Pampas. The original conquerors knew them by the name of *Querandis;* and it appears that they call themselves Puelches, and various other names; for each division of this nation has a

different appellation. At the period of the first arrival of the Spaniards in that country, they wandered about the southern side of the River Plate, opposite the Charruas' territory, but without any communication with them, as they had no canoes. On the western side, they had the Guaranis of Monte Grande, and of the Santiago valley—points that are now called San Ysidor, or Las Conchas: on the other two sides they had no neighbours.

This nation disputed the ground with the founders of Buenos Ayres, with a vigour, constancy, and valour truly admirable. The Spaniards, after considerable losses, abandoned the place; but returned a second time to undertake the foundation of that city; and, as they were then in possession of a strong cavalry, the Pampas could not make head against them, and withdrew towards the south. In their new country they lived as before, hunting deer and ostriches, which were abundant; but when the wild horses became numerous, they began to hunt them too, and kill them for the sake of their flesh, which they ate. After the horses,

the wild horned cattle multiplied also; and, as the Pampas Indians did not require them for food, they never thought of eating their flesh, and do not even to this day.

Consequently, these cattle found no obstacle to their increase, and continued multiplying and extending, even to the Black River, towards lat. 41° south, and in the same proportion to the west, as far as the boundary of Mendoza, and the Chilian branches of the Andes.

The Indians of these last places, on seeing these, to them, new animals, began to eat their flesh; and, as they became very abundant by rapid propagation, sold those they could not consume to the Araucanians, and other Indians, and even to the residents of the supreme court of Chili, who traded with them. It is from these causes that the main quantity migrated to the east, and became stationary in the country of the Pampas. Hence, several tribes inhabiting the eastern side of the Cordillera, and others from the Patagonian coast, went to establish themselves in this cattle country, and allied themselves with the Pampas Indians,

who already possessed large herds of horses. Immense herds of these animals were annually sold to the other tribes of the Cordillera, and the Spaniards of Chili. It is thus that the remainder of the cattle were destroyed. To say the truth, the savages were assisted in this destruction by the inhabitants of Mendoza and Buenos Ayres, whose consumption was very great, not only for food, but likewise for the hides and tallow.

When these cattle, which formed a part of the nourishment of the Pampas, and other allied tribes, and their only articles of trade, began to fail them, they commenced, towards the middle of the last century, to steal the tame cattle belonging to the inhabitants of Buenos Ayres. This was the cause of a bloody war; for the Indians did not confine themselves to this robbery, but killed also the men, sparing only the women and children, whom they carried away with them, treating them as I have stated of the Charruas.

It is true that they exact some services from their captive women, and treat them as slaves; but as soon as they marry them, these women

become as free as the rest. In the course of the war, these Indians burnt down many farm-houses, and killed thousands of Spaniards.

They have frequently laid waste the country, interrupting the communication between Buenos Ayres, Chili, and Peru, and forced the Spaniards to cover the frontiers of Buenos Ayres with eleven forts, garrisoned by seven hundred cavalry soldiers, exclusive of the militia. The same has taken place in the districts of Cordova and Mendoza. Doubtless, this war has been carried out by several nations leagued together; but the Pampas have always constituted the principal part, and their courage is well established.

The following will give the best idea of them:— In one of the battles, five Pampas Indians were made prisoners; they were placed on board a seventy-four gun-ship, having a crew of six hundred and fifty men, to be taken to Spain. Five days after the ship sailed, the captain gave them permission to walk on deck, and they instantly resolved, if possible, to take possession of the ship, and murder the whole crew.

With this insane object in view, one of them approached a corporal of marines, and, when off his guard, snatched his sword, and quickly killed two mates and fourteen men, sailors and soldiers. The other four then threw themselves upon the arms; but these being defended by the guard, they jumped overboard, followed by the first one.

The Jesuits began to form missions, or settlements, of these Indians; one near the stream called Salada, and another more to the south, near a hill improperly called Volcano (now *Sierra del Volcan*), but neither of them succeeded.

Many years ago, the Pampas made peace with the Spaniards; but, nevertheless, they are so distrustful that when I travelled through their territory, they watched my movements narrowly, with the greatest caution, as I had a strong escort with me. Therefore, all I have stated concerning them is from my own observation.

They have a large stock of excellent horses, which they ride like the Charruas. They buy from other Indians who live in the south, towards the coast of Patagonia, their skin dresses and

ostrich feathers; and, as to their cloth and *ponchos*, they get them from the Indians of the Chilian Cordillera. They carry to Buenos Ayres, for sale, swords, bridles, lassos, and balls; in exchange for brandy, Paraguay herb, sugar, sweets, raisins, dried figs, spurs, bits, knives, &c.

Sometimes they are accompanied in these trading excursions by other Indians from the Patagonian coasts, and the Chilian Cordillera; and, from time to time, the Caziques pay a visit to the viceroy, in order to obtain presents.

The number of their warriors amount to four hundred at most. Their language differs from all others, but it is destitute of either nasal or gutteral sounds; it might, therefore, be written by our alphabet. They are less taciturn than the other tribes, and their voice more sonorous and full. Although they speak in a low tone in ordinary conversation, yet when they deliver their address to the viceroy, the orator raises his voice, and, after uttering three or four words, makes a pause, laying a stress on the last syllable.

Their stature is, in my opinion, shorter than

ours; generally, they have stronger limbs, a rounder and larger head, shorter arms, the face broader and more serious than other Indians and Spaniards, and the colour lighter. None of them ever paints, or has his hair cut; the men raise it up, and tie it with a thong; the women divide their hair into two parts, which they tie up very tightly, forming two large and stiff tails. These tails do not hang behind their backs, but behind their ears, and they have the appearance of two long horns pendant on the shoulders and arms.

These are the cleanest of all Indian women; but, I believe them to be, on the other hand, the proudest and least obliging.

The men do not wear the *barbota*, nor any dress whatever, except when the weather is very cold; but, on entering Buenos Ayres, they cover themselves with a poncho. The wealthiest amongst them wear a hat, a jacket, and a blanket tied round the waist. The chiefs, or caziques, wear a coat and waistcoat, and a woollen wrapper, all presents from the viceroy. None of them ever wear either shirt or trousers, and they will not have them given

to them, as they say those articles encumber them very much.

The women do not paint their faces; but they wear ear-rings, necklaces, and jewels of small value: they wrap themselves up with a poncho, which covers them completely up to the neck, and nothing remains visible except their face and hands. Perhaps they are not quite so modestly attired when at home.

Those married to wealthy Indians, and their daughters, indulge in more rare and costly ornaments: they fix to their ponchos about a dozen thin and round copper plates, from three to six lines in diameter, at equal distances from each other. They wear also their leather boots highly ornamented with copper nails, with conical heads, and about six lines in diameter; their bridles are likewise loaded with silver plates, like those used by their husbands. Amongst other Indian tribes there are no such marked distinctions of wealth, dress, or ornaments.

They have chiefs, or caziques, who, without any power to order, punish, or exact the least thing,

are, however, much respected by the community, which generally adopts their suggestions, as they are considered to possess greater talents, cunning, and courage. Each chief inhabits a separate district with his clan; but they all assemble together whenever any deliberation or common interest requires it.

They do not cultivate the earth, nor work; they are ignorant of sewing or weaving; they are destitute of religion; they are unacquainted with laws, obligations, submission, punishments, rewards, musical instruments, or dances; but, in spite of this primitive simplicity, they are addicted to intoxication. Some of them have a little beard, resulting from the mixture of their race with the women and children they have stolen from us.

Conjugal love seems to be stronger with them than with other Indians; and polygamy, as well as divorce, are of rarer occurrence among them: they are likewise fonder of their children, though they teach them nothing.

Their tents, or portable dwellings, are soon got ready; three stakes are fixed in the ground, some

four feet apart; the middle one is about five feet long, the other two are somewhat shorter, and they all terminate in a forked point: ten feet from these stakes, other three, similar in every respect to the former, are likewise stuck in the ground, and three poles, or canes, are placed horizontally, resting on the forked ends of the six stakes; this light structure is covered over with horses' hides, and the building is completed. This is the habitation for one family; they all sleep in it, lying on hides, and always on their backs. If they feel cold, they cover the sides of this tent with other hides. These Indians' marriages are conducted like those of the Charruas; and, up to that period, they live at their parents' expense.

They are unacquainted with the bow and arrow; for, although ancient accounts speak of the use of these weapons by the Pampas Indians, I am of opinion it is through mistaking them for the Guaranis, at that time their allies in the wars against the Spaniards.

No savage nation has ever given up its ancient usages; and no custom has been more tenaciously

persevered in, by the native Indian, than the use of bows and arrows, though some tribes have, in addition, adopted other weapons.

The Pampas formerly used darts, or pointed throwing sticks, which were effective at a short distance; but they have recently lengthened these considerably, and converted them into long spears, much more effective on horseback. They have preserved their ancient bolas (or balls). These are of two kinds: the first consists of three round stones bound with hide, and tied to a common centre by means of thongs, one inch in breadth, and three feet long. They take hold of the small ball, and, whirling the others round their heads, they throw them to a distance of even one hundred yards; these balls entangle the legs, neck, or body, of a man, or any animal, in such a manner as to render escape impossible.

The other kind is formed of only one stone, which they call "lost stone," (*bola perdida*): it is as large as the former, except when made of copper or lead, and then it is smaller; it is bound round with leather, and tied to a cord of the same mate-

rial, about three feet long: in order to use it, they lay hold of the end of the cord, and cause the ball to swing round, sling fashion; then they throw it out with so much violence that it inflicts a terrible blow at the distance of fifty paces, and even more; for they discharge it from on horseback, and while at full gallop. If the object aimed at is near at hand, they strike the blow without letting go the cord.

The Pampas excel in the use of both kinds of *bolas* to catch wild horses and other animals; and they always carry a great quantity of these *bolas* when they go to war.

At the time of the conquest, they killed, with these weapons, D. Diego de Mendoza, the brother of the founder of Buenos Ayres, and nine other officers who were on horseback, with many other Spaniards.

By tying bundles of lighted straw to the *bolas perdidas* (lost balls), they succeeded in burning many houses in Buenos Ayres, and even some ships.

Their conduct in war is similar to that of the

Charruas; but, as their country is more open, and destitute of rivers and forests, they cannot contrive so many ambuscades. They supply this deficiency by cunning and courage, carried to the utmost degree, and by the superiority of their horses, and skill in their management.

THE AUCAS.

West of the Pampas, are situated the Aucas (who appear to be a portion of the famous Araucanians of Chili), and many other nations, to which names are given, in the frontiers of Mendoza.

My opinion is, that all these tribes originally inhabited the Chilian Cordillera, and that they descended thence, to their present abode, when the wild cattle spread over these luxuriant fields of herbage, as before stated. My opinion is based on the following fact:—These Indians were never seen on the old tract by which the Spaniards usually went from Buenos Ayres to Chili, passing by the side of the volcano of Villarica, where the Cordillera is divided, presenting a level pass, nearly a mile wide.

Now-a-days (1781) this road has been forgotten, and the way to Chili is through Mendoza, crossing the Cordillera with great difficulty, as, for the greater part of the year, the snow shuts up the passage. Be this as it may, I never saw these tribes; and all I can assert concerning them is, that they are totally ignorant of, or imperfectly acquainted with, agriculture; that their numbers are scanty and wandering; that they sometimes go to the Pampas' country, and, joined by these, have destroyed the cattle and made war as far as Buenos Ayres; that, at the proper season, they repair to the neighbourhood of the Black River to gather wild apples; that their languages are totally dissimilar to those of the other tribes; that they possess horses and sheep, with the wool of which they manufacture blankets and ponchos, which they sell to the Pampas for brandy, Paraguay herb, earthenware, and other articles brought from Buenos Ayres, where they sometimes go themselves, in company with the Pampas, and passing as such; that their stature is equal to the Pampas, but that other nations are superior to both in stature

and courage: and, lastly, that in every thing else they resemble the Pampas.

I have not seen many other savage nations which are settled between the coast of Patagonia and the Cordillera of Chili, from lat. 41° to the strait of Magellan; nevertheless, I am acquainted with the fact that some of them, amongst which the Spaniards reckon the Balchitas, the Wiliches, and the Tchuelches, frequently join the Pampas in their wars, and robberies of Buenos Ayrean cattle.

Even now that we are at peace with the Pampas, it often happens that these tribes cross over to the north of the Black River, and even the Colorado, and settle themselves for a time south of the Pampas. I never heard of these tribes being at war with one another, as is almost invariably the case with those north of the Rio de la Plata.

PATAGONIANS.

They make use of the same weapons as the Pampas, to whom they yield neither in strength or courage; on the contrary, some of them seem

to excel in this respect, particularly the Patagonians, or Tchuelches, of whom two went to Buenos Ayres, and mingled with the Pampas. A person who saw and measured them, told me that one was six feet seven inches in height, and the other two inches shorter. However, I am of opinion that no credit is to be given to those accounts which represent the Patagonians as giants, nor to those who reduce their stature to little more than our own height.

Those who have travelled by sea must be aware of the existence, in the above-mentioned localities, of many savage tribes, the shortest in stature of which are as tall as we, and the remainder much taller; we must not, therefore, wonder at the contradictory nature of those accounts, but only at the gross exaggerations they contain.

All the nations inhabiting these regions have each a distinct language: they are destitute of religion, laws, games, and dances; they are not numerous at present, and are governed by councils, in which the chiefs, or caziques, exercise the greatest influence.

They are, for the most part, provided with horses, which they use both for riding and as food: none of them cultivate the earth. They live by hunting, which provides them with hares, deer, guanacos, ferrets, yaguares, yaguaretes, quazuaras, aguarachays, ostriches, and partridges.

Their tents, or dwellings, resemble those of the Pampas, and their dress likewise in cold weather; only that instead of a poncho they wear a kind of blanket, almost square, about four feet each side, the centre of which is mostly made of aguarachay, guanaco, or hare skin, and the remainder of yaguarete skin: the skins on the reverse of the fur are painted; with these blankets they wrap themselves up. They sell to the Pampas some of these skins, as well as ostrich feathers, in exchange for brandy, Paraguay herb, knives, and other articles, all from Buenos Ayres.

THE GUARANIS.

This nation is more numerous and more widely extended than any other tribe in this part of the globe; for, at the discovery of this part of America, they occupied all the territory now in possession of the Brazilian Portuguese. But, confining myself within the limits of my description, it extended north of the Charruas, the Bohanes, and Minuanas, as far as lat. 16° south, without passing to the western side of the Paraguay and Parana rivers, except at its extreme points; that is to say, it occupies likewise the territory of San Ysidro, and of the Conchas near Buenos Ayres, and the south, down to lat. 30°, as well as all the islands of the Parana; and, on the other side, it extended to the west of the Paraguay, and penetrated into the province of Chiquitos, reaching the summit of the great chain of the Andes, where great numbers of them existed under the name of Chiriguanas. But it must be observed that between these, and the Guaranis of the same nation, inhabiting

the province of Chiquitos (as stated before) there was an extensive tract of country occupied by very different nations.

I must likewise remark, that within the territory which I have assigned to the Guaranis nation, there existed others; as the Tupis, Guayanas, the Nuaias, the Nalicuegas, and the Guasacapas.

All these tribes, as well as the Guaranis, differed very much from one another. The Guaranis occupied the enormous extent of country which I have described, without forming a political body, or acknowledging the authority of any chief. This nation was found in precisely the same condition as that of Peru, when the first Inca so easily subjected it to his dominion. It was everywhere divided into small communities, or clans, independent of each other, and under different names, taken from that of each chief, or from the places they occupied. Sometimes, under one name, were included all the tribes living on the banks of a river, or in some district. This is the cause of the multiplicity of names which the conquerors gave to the single nation of Guaranis.

For instance, without going out of the country which I am describing, the following denominations were given them, namely:—Albguas, Caracuras, Timbus, Tucaques, Calchaquis, Quiloazas, Carias, Morngalas, Tatitres, Tarcis, Bombars, Curnpaites, Curumais, Caxiquas, Guaranis, Tapes, Chirignanas, &c.

The fortunes of this nation have not been uniform throughout the extent of its territory. All the tribes that inhabited the immense tract of country taken possession of by the Portuguese, were seized and sold as slaves; and, as they were mixed with the black men brought over from Africa, the aboriginal race is nearly extinct.

Besides this, the Portuguese of San Pablo, commonly called Mamelukes, did not content themselves with doing what I have stated, but they likewise made extensive and repeated incursions in the Spanish dominions, and carried away, not only all the Guaranis they could find in their free state, but also eighteen settlements of them, who had been subdued and instructed by the Spaniards in Paraguay.

The conduct of the Spaniards has been very different; they have never sold a single Guaranis Indian, but still keep thousands of them, not only in the settlement formed by the Jesuits, but also in a state of perfect liberty. Many aboriginal clans existing there are now enjoying as much liberty as before the Spaniards' arrival.

In its proper place, I shall speak of the Guaranis subject to the Spanish rule, and constituting Christian populations; but I speak now of those only who are perfectly free. But, as these inhabit the great forests, which I have had no opportunity of exploring, my description of them will only consist of the accounts found in old manuscripts, and the information I have obtained from persons who have seen some of these Indians. With this I shall combine what I have myself observed, whenever I have had an opportunity of seeing any of them; and also what I have noticed among those converted to Christianity.

Generally speaking, all the free Guaranis lived in the vicinity of forests, or in the small valleys situated between the large mountains; and if in

some places they settled in an open country of any great extent, it was only when not contiguous to any other nation.

They lived on honey and wild fruits; they likewise ate monkeys, chibignazus, ruborebis, and capignaras. But their chief resource was the cultivation of maize, porotas, zapallas, mani, or momduby, sweet potatoes, and mandioca. If a river was at hand, they fished with arrows, or with wooden hooks; some of them had small canoes.

When they had gathered in their harvest, they laid up stores for the year's consumption, as they could not obtain so many birds and quadrupeds in the woods as in an open country; therefore, they only hunted and gathered wild fruits when they were not engaged in husbandry; and, to be in time for the harvest, they never strayed far: hence they were a stationary tribe, not wandering, as the other nations I have described.

Their language is very different from all the rest; but, being the same among the widely-dispersed Guaranis clans, persons speaking it could travel all over Brazil, penetrate into Paraguay,

descend to Buenos Ayres, and re-ascend to Peru, as far as the Chiriquanas district.

This language is considered the richest of all the savage tongues in America; nevertheless, it is wanting in a great many terms: in numerical nomenclature it only reaches to number four. The pronunciation is both nasal and gutteral.

Father Luis Volano, a Franciscan monk, has translated into it our catechism. The Jésuits have invented new signs to give exact expression to these nasal and gutteral sounds; and they even published a grammar and dictionary of the language. But, notwithstanding this aid, it is very difficult to learn, and upwards of a twelvemonth would be requisite for the purpose.

The mean average stature of the individuals of this nation seems to me two inches lower than the Spanish; it is, therefore, inferior to that of the other tribes already described. They have, moreover, the appearance of being more square in frame, more fleshy and ugly; their colour is lighter and somewhat reddish. The women have small hands and breasts. The men have sometimes a little

beard, and are slightly covered with hair, which distinguish them from all other Indians; but, nevertheless, they are not so hairy as the Europeans.

A man who had lived a long time among the Christian Guaranis, assured me that he had observed in the cemeteries that the bones of these Indians turn to dust much sooner than those of Spaniards. Their eyes, hair, teeth, as well as their hearing and sight, are like those of other Indians. Their fecundity is not equal to that of Europeans; for, having examined a great number of population returns of different towns, ancient and modern, I have found only one Indian that was the father of ten children; the average is, therefore, four individuals to each family. The number of women is always greater than that of the men, the proportion being fourteen to thirteen.

The aspect of these savages is gloomy and dejected; they talk but little, and always in an under tone, never shouting or groaning; their voice is not loud nor sonorous; their countenance never betrays any passion. They are extremely

dirty in their persons and habits; they acknowledge no Deity, no laws, no punishments nor rewards, nor duties of any kind; they never look a person in the face while speaking. In their loves and weddings a still greater coolness is observed than amongst other tribes. Marriage is not preceded by any courtship whatever. They are destitute of jealous feelings; nothing could prove this better than the courtesy and pleasure with which they abandoned their wifes and daughters to the conquerors. The women marry very young, generally at the age of ten or twelve; the men a little later.

Although I have been unable to discover in any old manuscript the slightest allusion to music or dancing among the Guaranis, yet a symptom of both was observed by me in an Indian of this tribe. I saw him put a few grains of maize in an empty vessel (*porongo*), which he shook to make it sound, while he danced in a monotonous manner, merely tapping the ground with his feet, accompanying his motions with a kind of humming, without any distinct enunciation of words.

Each division, or clan, has a chief, or cazique; commonly an hereditary dignity, to which they bestow, in general, some consideration; without, however, being able to account for it. But no difference ever exists between the chief's abode, dress, and decorations, and those of other members of his community; he is obliged to work like the rest, and receives neither contributions, service, nor obedience.

Among some tribes, still in their savage state, and generally called Caayquas, the men wear the *barbota*, which has been already described; but, instead of wood, the material is transparent gum, five inches in length, and four lines thick; and, in order to prevent its coming out, it is crossed inside the lip by another transverse piece. The crown of their heads is shaved, in the form of a clerical tonsure; but they neither paint their bodies, nor do they wear any dress, except a small fragment like the fig-leaf of our common parents. They do not cut their hair, nor use ornaments.

Most of these tribes are ignorant of the art of spinning or weaving, while others merely know how

to manufacture coarse cotton cloths, with which they cover themselves, as I shall have to state when I describe the Paraguays and the Allayas; some of them had no fixed burial-place, and placed their dead in earthen vessels, which is the general custom of the nation; the clan called Timbu used to incrustate the sides of the nose with small stars, formed of white and blue stones; the Coronda and Calchaqui hordes used the same stars, not on the nose, but near it. The Guaranis are very timorous, and have the greatest terror of all other tribes; they never make war or treat with the enemy, even to make peace; they always avoid coming in contact with other Indians, and I question if ten or twelve Guaranis in a body would dare to face a single Indian of the other tribes.

As to the praises lavished by the Jesuits on their warlike qualifications, only one or two slight engagements with the Spaniards are proved; and experience has testified how easily they have been subdued everywhere by the latter, while it has not been so with any of the other nations. In fact, all

our Indian settlements in that country are exclusively formed of Guaranis.

The hordes of this nation existing in a savage state, with the exception of that found north of *Corpus*, will hold no intercourse, nor make peace, with the Spaniards. If we penetrate into their country, they endeavour to kill us with arrows, to shoot which they hide behind the trees, without ever making a stand when attacked. Their weapons consist of a bow six feet long, and arrows four and a half feet in length, with a point made of hard wood; also a *macana* (a kind of wooden scimitar), four feet long, thicker at one extremity than at the other.

Old accounts relate that they reared fowls and ducks; but I do not believe it; for the savage Guaranis, as well as other Indian tribes, do not rear any such animals; a few of them possess only dogs, horses, and a small number of sheep.

The bows used by these Indians are very peculiar, unlike any I have ever seen or heard of before, and merit a particular description: they consist of a hard stick, of little flexibility, smooth, three or four

inches thick in the middle, tapering away to a sharp point at each end, so much so as to be capable of being used as spears. The curve of these sticks is so little that it amounts only to an inch at the centre, measured from the plane of its extremities; it is, besides, strengthened with strips of Guembe bark, tightly twisted round it. They never draw the string tight, except when about to use it. Their skill in shooting with this weapon is well known. As the arrows are very long, they do not make use of quivers. The boys, who are fond of shooting birds, and other small animals, use a different kind of bow, more pliant, and about three feet in length. Two forked small pieces of wood keep the strings of these bows at about an inch from the stick; near the centre of the strings they form a kind of net, for the purpose of placing in it certain balls, made of hard baked earth, or clay, the size of walnuts. They carry a bag full of these balls; when they wish to shoot, they take out four or five balls with the left hand, holding the bow with the right; they place the balls in the net, one after the other, and, drawing the string with all their might,

shoot them at birds, or other animals, and frequently kill them at the distance of forty paces. They never shoot arrows with these bows, nor do they use them for fighting, though one of these balls is capable of breaking a leg, at the distance of thirty paces. A little practice is requisite to be able to manage the bow, so that the balls should not strike the right hand; to prevent this, the net is placed a little above the centre of the string.

I must not omit relating a fact narrated to me by a curate, well worthy of credence. Pointing to an Indian boy of this tribe, he said, "I took this boy when he was only four years old; he is now fourteen, and has spent his whole time in my house. He has never seen a river, nor a quantity of water sufficient to swim in, nevertheless I shall order him to swim, and you shall see him cross this river (pointing to one before us, which was deeper than the Seine), as I have remarked that the Guaranis have a natural instinct for swimming, like quadrupeds."

I instantly saw the proof of this, and thought that the Guaranis, and perhaps all other Indians,

may have their bodies specifically lighter than ours.*

I have seen only two Indians of the race of those who lived under the empire of the Inca of Peru; but, if I had to compare them with the Guaranis, I should say that the latter were equal in stature, and their colour darker than that of the Peruvians, whose face appears to me to be less square and fleshy, narrower in the lower part, and more intelligent. To compare the Peruvian with the savage tribes of Paraguay and the Plata, would be to place in juxta-position spiritlessness in body and mind,

* This would not be sufficient to enable them to swim naturally, without previous practice; it would be necessary for this, that the specific weight of their bodies should be lighter than that of water. It is true that dogs, and other quadrupeds, which are specifically heavier than water, can swim naturally; but it is because the position of their bodies is the same in the water as it is on land, and the movements best adapted for swimming are precisely the same as those they practice on land for walking and running. With man, who is a biped, the case is entirely different; he will infallibly drown, unless he executes certain movements, quite dissimilar to those he is in the habit of making while walking or running. Hence it is necessary for him to practice, repeatedly, those movements capable of supporting his body on the water, before he can venture, with impunity, to swim in deep water. I am, therefore, of opinion that the curate's Guarani had more than once, and without his knowledge, practised swimming.

with elegance, grandeur, strength, courage, and pride.

THE TUPIS.

These Indians are the bitter enemies of the Guaranis; their attacks were very much dreaded; the accounts I received from them were, no doubt, suggested by fear. Their under lips were cut in two from top to bottom. They are Anthropophagi; two of them who were taken prisoners allowed themselves to die without speaking. The several Jesuits' manuscripts which I have read, give them the name of Caraibes.

The following particulars I have received from Don Francisco Gonzalez, administrator of the town of Conception. In January, 1800, a detachment of two hundred Tupis, pursued by another tribe, issued from the woods; the detachment crossed the Uruguay, which was then very low, availing themselves of a bank of rocks, on which the water was extremely shallow, and situated between Conception and Santa Maria. The Tupis proceeded on

their way, by the town of Martius, towards the north, and as far as the town of Guaranis, which had been commenced two leagues above that of Corpus, and named San Francisco de Paulo; they attacked it, burnt it to the ground, and killed many of the inhabitants who had taken refuge in the woods. The Guaranis of the neighbouring towns became alarmed, and sallied out in pursuit of the Tupis, commanded by Spaniards. During their march, they came upon the graye of an adult Tupis; this grave was not very deep, and its bottom was covered with palm leaves, on which the body was lying, covered with similar leaves, and without any earth. Outside this grave they had placed the bow, arrows, and *macana* of the deceased, and at each corner they had tied up by the legs, to a thick stake, a dog; these dogs were all dead when the grave was discovered. The Guaranis dared not attack the Tupis; but, as the latter dispersed in quest of food, the Guaranis captured some women and children; but, as they were not properly watched, they all escaped, with the exception of two girls, one of them twelve, and the other thirteen

years old; these were taken by Gonzalez to his own house, but they likewise made their escape, and ran to the woods.

They evinced, at first, affectionate feelings, and would embrace and caress all the women; when they entered a house, they would take up, and try on, all the dresses they could lay their hands upon; they bathed two or three times a day, and danced together occasionally. Their language could easily be written and pronounced, being destitute of nasal and gutteral sounds. All that could be made out from their conversation was, that their tribe was acquainted with agriculture, that they cultivated maize, japallos (pumpkins), batatas (sweet potatoes), mondiocæ, porotas, &c.; that they were stationary, unless when in search of honey, or wild fruits, between harvest and sowing time; that they made bread of maize and mandioca, which they call eme; that their huts were covered with palm leaves; that, with the caraguata, they manufactured stuffs, worn by their women, round the waist; that the men go quite naked, except a few who wear a *tipoy*, or short and narrow shirt, without collar or

sleeves, made of the same stuff. They do not paint their bodies; the men have the crowns of their heads shaved, like the tonsure of monks. The women cut their hair above the shoulders and the middle of the forehead, and at the sides in a serrated line; they wear necklaces, made of small flat and round shells, which, in some instances, hang as low as the breast. Both men and women pull out the hairs of their eyebrows, eyelashes, and of every part of the body.

These Indians are constantly at war with everybody; they spare neither age nor sex. Their weapons are, bows six feet long, arrows pointed with flints, or bones, which are four and a half feet in length, a short macana, and stone hatchets; they carry on their backs a cane basket, beautifully made, which is fastened by a string tied round their foreheads; they use these baskets for carrying fruit, and every thing else they can pick up.

The colour of these savages is lighter than that of the Guaranis; their stature is not much taller, but their features are much handsomer; their countenance is more cheerful, open, and intellectual.

THE GUAYANAS.

This nation must not be confounded with several hordes of Guaranis, whom the inhabitants of Paraguay call by the same name. They live in the interior of forests east of the Uruguay, from the river Guairai northwards. They likewise inhabit the large forests west of the Parana, far above the town of Corpus. Their language differs from all others; their colour likewise is much lighter, and some of them have blue eyes.

They carefully preserve their eyebrows, eyelashes, and the scanty hair on their bodies; they have no beard. They are peaceably inclined, and well affected towards strangers. They, like the Tupis, have no religion. They have a great dislike to the water, and can hardly be prevailed upon to cross rivers. As their arms and legs are covered with scars, similar to those of the Charruas, it cannot be doubted that they practise the same mourning ceremonies.

THE NUARAS.

This, like the two preceding nations, was surrounded by the Guaranis, and was captured entire, and sold by the Portuguese as slaves in Brazil. At the time of the conquest, the Nuaras occupied the country called the plains of Jerez, and were rather numerous; in stature, they are superior to the Guaranis: they lived by agriculture. The character of these savages was peaceful, quiet, and amiable.

This nation is stationary, and is found two days' journey from the plains of Jerez; it has a peculiar language, and is composed of a few families inhabiting caves under ground; both men and women go naked. Their stature and colour resemble those of the Guaranis. They are excessively indolent and pusillanimous; they have bows and arrows, which they use to defend themselves, without leaving their caves. They cultivate the earth, and live upon maize, batatas, &c.

THE GUASARAPAS.

I preserve this name, as it is the one under which this nation was known to the conquerors, and I prefer it to that of the *Guachies*, as they are called by the people of Paraguay, after the Albayas who call them so. They have never changed their domicile, but continue to inhabit the swamps in the interior of the country where the river Guasarapa, or Guachie, takes its rise, joining the Paraguay on the east, in lat. 19° 46′ 30″.

They possess canoes similar to those used by the Payaguas; with these they cross over from their river to the Paraguay, whenever they wish to communicate with the Albayas, their intimate and old allies. It was on one of these occasions that, meeting with some Spaniards, who were navigating the Paraguay, they killed them all. As their territory is inaccessible by land, and cannot be reached by water without great labour, expence and danger, this nation is known only by the Albayas, among whom several of them are sometimes seen.

Their stature averages five feet six inches; they are well made; the men wear no dress unless it be a blanket bought from the Albayas, or spoil obtained in battle. Their hair is so closely cropped that their head has the appearance of being shaved. They have no beard, and pull out every hair on their bodies; they have no knowledge of domestic animals, agriculture, or hunting. Their principal food is wild rice, which is produced in abundance in their swamps.

Their weapons consist of arrows and macanas; they never go to war on their own account, as no other tribe ever care to penetrate into such dismal morasses; but being vigorous and courageous they willingly act as allies to the Albayas, who call upon them immediately on the breaking out of any war, either with the Ninaquiguilas, or with the Spanish settlements in the province of Chiquitos.

THE GUATAS.

This tribe lives in a swamp, called the Cross Swamp (Laguna de la Cruz), communicating with

the Paraguay on the east, in lat. 19° 12′. It is certain that they rarely, if ever, leave their dreary bogs and lakes. As soon as they perceive any stranger, they fly with the greatest precipitation, and conceal themselves in the recesses of the lagoons.

THE AGUITEQUIDICHAGAS.

Such is the name given to these Indians by the Albayas. I was unable to examine this tribe as I could wish, although within the Spanish territory, in consequence of the jealousy of the Portuguese, who in contravention of express stipulations prevented me. From what I could gather, these savages are the only relic of the ancient *Cacocys*, called likewise *Orejirus*, by the first conquerors. They occupy the most considerable of the small mountains of the country, named Santa Lucia by some, and San Fernando by others, between lat. 18° and 19°, west of, and near, the Paraguay river. As they permanently reside in a country where game cannot

abound, and rivers are distant, they subsist by the cultivation of maize, mané, sweet potatoes, &c.

Their language is different from that of the Albayas, and though in colour they resemble the Guaranis, their stature is taller; they do not make war, but keep for their own defence bows, arrows, and macanas: both sexes go entirely naked. The men wear in their ears and nostrils small stones of different colours. The women are remarkable for their long ears, which reach down to the shoulders! To effect this they bore them, enlarging the hole by successively inserting in it round bits of wood, gradually increasing in thickness. They sometimes go down to the river Paraguay to bathe and fish.

THE NINAQUIGUILAS.

The Portuguese have also prevented my visiting this nation. Our Indians of Chiquitos give them the name of Potoreras. According to the Albayas, this tribe occupies the interior of a large forest, which, beginning about lat. 19°, a few leagues from the

Paraguay, extends far in a west-south-westerly direction in the Chaco, and it separates, on the south, the province of Chiquitos from the country occupied by the Guanas and the Albayas. This nation is divided into several hordes, who never leave the wood. The Albayas keep up a friendly intercourse with the southernmost of them, while they are at war with those in the north. It appears that these savages do not wage war, though rather numerous, and possessed of arrows and macanas; their defence is also feeble. In their want of religion and every thing else, they resemble the other tribes.

THE GUANAS.

Called also Apianee, Laloqua and Chané, which are again subdivided into different hordes, namely Layana, Ethelencœ, or Quiniquinao, Chabarana, or Choroana, or Tchoaladi, Cagnaconœ, Nagatisibue, Yanaeno, Tuig, and Yamoco. These are all the names; hence, from a single nation,

many names have been produced, all figuring in the maps as distinct people; and as this error has occurred with most tribes, it has caused the greatest confusion and exaggeration in histories, narratives, and maps.

I am perfectly confident that from the Rio de la Plata northwards, there exist no other nations, but those described by me.

The plan of each house forms two parallel lines, eight and a half toises in length, separated by a space four and a half toises wide, terminating in a circle at each extremity. Along these lines they stick in the ground branches of trees, which, joined to others, form arches at every twelve inches; these arches are crossed by similar branches, and also twelve inches apart. The frame so constructed is covered with long straw, tightly fixed to the branches. Thus a vault is formed all over the two parallel and principal lines; the extremities are in a similar manner closed up with branches. No other walls exist in these houses, nor any other hole but a single door; and yet each of them contains twelve families, without any separation whatever. They sweep

their houses every day, in which they differ from all other Indians, as well as in their custom of sleeping on beds, and not on the ground. Their beds are formed of four stakes, forked at the upper end, on which they lay four sticks tied together at the extremities, and on this frame they place branches and straw.

Their stature is more variable than that of the other nations, and their average height may be about five feet four inches; they are straight and well formed, like all Indians. They resemble them also in the gravity of their countenances, the absence of all expression and display of passion, and in every thing else.

No woman amongst them ever consents to marry, without previously stipulating with her intended husband, in the presence of her nearest relatives, the kind of life they will respectively lead; whether the wife will have to make her husband's blankets, assist him in the building of their dwelling, and in cultivating the ground; whether she will have to fetch the firewood, and prepare all the food, or only the vegetables; whether the husband will have

only one wife, or many; and the wife several husbands, and how many. Lastly, they exact an explanation on the most trifling circumstances. Nevertheless, divorce is equally free to both sexes, and the women are greatly inclined to it. This strange propensity arises from their number being smaller than that of the men—an inequality not to be attributed to nature, but to the work of the women themselves, and the most barbarous practice that could ever be imagined. They destroy the greater portion of their female infants.

In order to do this, as soon as they feel the first indications of an approaching labour, they go alone to the fields; and, soon after the birth of the child, they bury it alive, in a hole they have previously made in the ground; after which, they very coolly return home.

Many Spaniards have frequently offered these Indian women money, jewels, &c., to engage them to give up to them the child immediately after its birth; they have never consented to this, but, on the contrary, have taken every precaution to enable them to execute their purpose without obstacle,

and in the most secret manner. They are not all of them guilty of so atrocious a practice, though it is but too common with the greater portion. Those that practice this cruel custom, do not treat all their female children in this manner; they preserve the half, or more, of them, in order, as they say, that they may be more dearly prized by the men, and thus enjoy greater happiness. So it is in fact, for the latest period of their marrying is at the age of nine, while the men remain single till they are twenty years of age, and even later, as it is rarely the case that they are sufficiently strong before that period to dispute the victory with so many pretenders as each girl has.

The women, on their side, do not fail to stimulate rivalry among the men, by means of strict cleanliness, amiability, and gallantry, unknown among the other nations. This causes the men to be likewise cleaner, more addicted to ornaments, and more apt to run away with other men's wives. It also happens from this, that the women are more vain, inclined to divorce and adultery, and that the men are more jealous.

Although an adulteress incurs no punishment, it is a common practice for men that have been thus deceived, to get a few friends to join them in giving a sound thrashing to their wives' paramours, which is sometimes attended with loss of life. Polygamy is, however, rare with them.

All the children in the tribe, born a few moons before or after the Cazique's eldest son, are considered the son's dependents, and are absolved from any allegiance to the chief. The dignity descends to the eldest son, and females succeed when a male heir fails; but any other private Indian may succeed to the Caziqueship, when, through his personal qualifications, he is acknowledged as such by some who thereby desert their former chief. This tribe goes in small bodies to join the Albayas, whom they serve and obey, and whose lands they cultivate, without receiving any payment in return. Hence the Albayas always call them their slaves.

On the other hand, it must be admitted that this slavery is very mild, as the Guana voluntarily submits to it, and renounces it whenever he pleases;

besides, their masters' orders are few, and not imperiously given. I have seen an Albaya look for a blanket to cover himself with, being cold; but on seeing that a Guana slave of his had previously taken it for the same purpose, he did not ask him for it, nor give him to understand that he wished it. Bodies of fifty and one hundred Guanas are daily seen descending to the Paraguay, in order to engage themselves to the Spaniards, as labourers, and even as sailors; for which latter purpose they go as far as Buenos Ayres. They work very slowly, and in order not to be pressed, they prefer engaging for task work, rather than for daily wages. When they enter the Spanish territory, they leave their weapons with the first magistrate they meet, and take them again on their return. Some of them settle in the Spanish towns, after marriage with resident women, and become Christians; but they frequently get tired of this tame life, and suddenly disappear; taking with them all the clothes and iron implements they have been able to collect.

When boys reach the age of eight years, a singular ceremony is observed. At the dawn of day

they go into the country, returning in the evening to their homes (having fasted the whole day) in procession and deep silence; their backs are then maimed, and their arms pricked, by some old women, piercing them through with pointed bones. This cruel treatment is borne by the boys without crying, or exhibiting the least sign of pain. When the ceremony is over, the boys' mothers give them some boiled maize and other vegetables. Adult men have their feasts also, on the birth of their first child, or on any other pretence or whim. These feasts consist only in getting drunk; a privilege exclusively reserved to male adults, and never partaken of by unmarried men, boys, nor women. Each family celebrates, also, once a year, a festivity, which I shall describe when I come to speak of the Payaguas. The Guanas have female doctors, whose only medicine is the sucking of the patient's stomach, like the Charruas. These Indians do not seem to entertain so much fear and disgust for the dead as the other nations, for they bury them outside their doors, in order, as they say, to have the remembrance of them always present. Each family never

omits to mourn for the death of any of its members, particularly for a Cazique, or a man of some note.

Their political system is to be at peace with every nation; they never undertake an offensive war, but fight and defend themselves with great courage. They kill their male prisoners, exceeding twelve years of age, preserving and adopting all the children and women, as practiced by the Charruas.

THE ALBAYAS..

This nation used to inhabit the Chaco, between lat. 20 and 22° south. They are divided into many hordes, or encampments.

In 1671, the Albayas went over to the east of the Paraguay, and attacked the Guarani settlement, called Santa Maria de la Fé, in lat. 22°, 5′, killing or expelling them all.

Many of them did not return to the Chaco, but settled east of the Paraguay. In 1672 they discovered the town of Pitu or Ipané; they approached it in the night, and some of them succeeded in

crossing the narrow ditch which surrounded the city, by means of a kind of bridge they had formed with their spears; but perceiving that they had been discovered by the townspeople, they withdrew, carrying away some old horses they found grazing. These were the first they ever had, and, being much pleased with them, they returned to the same place a few months afterwards, and contrived to steal some more, with several mares. Such successes induced them to resolve on the total destruction of the towns of Ipané and Guarambaré. They accordingly marched against those towns; but as the inhabitants had received previous intimation of the intended attack, they escaped, together with the people of Atira, to the capital of Paraguay.

The Albayas were thus put in absolute possession of the province of Itati, extending from lat. 24° 7′ to the lake of Aarayes. This caused new names to be introduced into that country, the Albayas calling now, for instance, Appa and Æquidalan, the rivers formerly known by the names of Corrientes and Piray; the district of

Pitun, Piray, and Itati, is now changed into Agaguigo, and Itapucu-Guazu, is now what was originally called Mount San Fernando and Quacho. The result of these changes of names is great confusion in geographical terms, and demarcation of limits, which will, very probably, render the maps of this part of South America erroneous for years to come. The Albayas continued their conquest, towards the south, causing all the inhabitants to forsake their homes down to 25° 1′ 35″ south.

They then attacked the Spaniards, killed hundreds of them, and destroyed even the country-houses and farms, near Assumption, the capital city; they likewise attacked the town of Corruquaty, and nearly exterminated the Spaniards. This war terminated by a peace, in 1746, which was not interrupted until the 16th of May, 1796, when several Albayas were killed by a Spanish captain. After peace was again concluded, these savages fixed their residence near the tropic of Capsicorn, and spread desolation and terror amongst the tribes around.

A cazique of this tribe, whose name is Nabidrigui,

or Camba, is six feet two inches tall. In answer to a question put to him in 1794, regarding his age, "I don't know it," said he, "but when the building of the cathedral in Assumption was commenced I was already married, and had a son." Now, this cathedral was built in 1689, and, supposing him to have been then fifteen years old, it follows that this man had reached the advanced age of one hundred and twenty years. When I saw him, he was bent double, his hair was partially grey, his sight weaker than that of the other Indians, but he had not lost a single tooth or hair; he rode on horseback, handled the spear, and went to war like the rest.

Some Albayas explain their origin in the following manner:—"God created in the beginning all nations, as numerous as they are at this day, and distributed them over the whole surface of the earth. After a time, he thought of creating an Albaya, and a female to be his wife; and, as he had already given the whole earth to the other nations, he ordered the *Caracara* bird to go and tell the newly created couple that he was very sorry that it was not in his power to give them any

lands; that it was for this reason he had created two Albayas only, and that, in order to remedy this evil, he ordered them to wander constantly over the territories of the other nations, to make war against them, killing all the adult men, and preserving the women and children, in order to increase their own numbers."

Never were precepts so faithfully fulfilled; for the only occupation of the Albayas is to wander from place to place, hunting and fishing for their subsistence, and waging war against all mankind, killing or preserving their enemies according to *Caracara's* injunction. They, however, make an exception in favour of the Guanas, with whom they are bound in intimate friendship, as already stated.

Besides the Guanas, who are kept by the Albayas as servants, or slaves, (see my description of the Guanas), they acquire many others, by capturing women and children, not only Indians, but also Spaniards; so that the poorest Albaya is the master of three or four slaves. These are entrusted with all domestic concerns, the Albayas attending only to fishing, hunting, and fighting.

They are so proud and indolent that when, on one occasion, I made a present to an Albaya, he would not take it himself, but ordered one of his slaves to do so for him. Some Albayas have confined themselves to the care of flocks of sheep and herds of horned cattle; but they make no use of the milk of either, which they detest, like all Indians.

They would not, for any thing in the world, part with their horses, which they keep as war steeds. They ride without saddle and almost on the horses' haunches. When they have decided on attacking the enemy, they mount the worst steeds, leading those destined for the combat. They omit nothing to surprise the enemy, but, if they fail in this, they do not hesitate to attack face to face.

If they perceive their foes keep their ground steadily, they halt beyond musket shot; three or four dismount, approach them on foot, perform violent gesticulations, shaking or trailing on the ground tiger skins, so as to frighten the enemy's horses, and trying thereby to cause confusion amongst them, or to induce a general discharge of fire arms. If they succeed in this, they fall

upon their opponents with the rapidity of lightning, and no one escapes. The Spaniards, inured to this method of fighting, preserve their line, and cause the best shots to advance from the centre and wings, and fire in succession close to the advancing Indians: if one is killed, the rest rush to the rescue of the corpse, and then they all retreat. But great caution and a good look-out are requisite if pursued, for if any one of them is attacked singly, or if any attempt is made to capture the bad or inferior horses, they return to the charge with incredible swiftness and audacity.

They know, besides, how to lie in ambush, and make false attacks: indeed, with equal numbers, notwithstanding our fire arms, we Spaniards cannot cope with them. In each expedition they content themselves with the gain of a small advantage: were it not so, neither a single Spaniard in Paraguay, nor a Portuguese in Cuyaba, would be now in existence. Amongst the Albayas, the men eat of everything; they have another peculiarity concerning food; namely, that single women never eat meat, nor any fish being or exceeding one foot in length; they

live entirely upon vegetables and small fishes, without knowing why.

The Albaya women are in general the most endearing and complaisant among the Indians, and their husbands are not very jealous. Divorce and polygamy are free with this, as with all Indian nations; but they seldom avail themselves of either. The women of this nation celebrate from time to time a festivity, which consists only in walking in procession round the tents, carrying on the point of their husbands' spears the hair, bones, and weapons of the enemies killed in battle, narrating at the same time the achievements of their respective husbands.

In order to stimulate the latter's courage, and to exhibit their own, as a means of showing themselves worthy of their husbands' love and confidence, they terminate the feast by beating one another with fury, drawing blood from mouths and noses, with the addition of not a few broken teeth. After this fray, the husbands congratulate them, and to complete the curious ceremony they all get drunk, except the women, who never drink spirits. These women have adopted the barbarous and almost incredible

practice of killing all their children save one each. They generally keep the last born, when too old or infirm to expect any more. If their calculation prove erroneous, and they have another child they kill it immediately. Some of them remain childless, having been baffled in their hope of more children after the first. On one occasion I ventured to remonstrate with them on the cruelty and impolicy of this atrocious custom; but the only answer I received was, that men had no business to meddle with women's affairs.

One of them, however, condescended to give me the following explanation, "When we bring forth at the proper time, our good looks are impaired by it, our health is injured, and premature age is the result; in this state you men don't love us: besides, children are great incumbrances to us, as we must carry them on our marches, on which occasions food frequently fails us."

Their only method of cure for internal complaints is sucking the stomach. In their removals to other quarters, they abandon the sick who are unable to keep up with them.

They have the greatest possible horror of the corpses of their own tribe, and put them out of sight immediately. They wrap the body in a mat, and hang it on a tree, where they leave it for the space of three moons; at the end of this time the corpse becomes as dry as a piece of pasteboard, and they then carry it to their cemetery. Their mourning, for a relative, lasts three moons; but is limited to the women and slaves who, during that time, eat vegetables only, and keep perfectly silent, not even answering any question that may be put to them.

THE PAYAGUAS.

This strong and powerful nation gave its name to the river Paraguay, formerly called the *Payaguay*, or the river of the Payaguas, a name which we have altered and applied to the whole country. At the period of the Spanish invasion, this nation was divided into two hordes, which had distributed the empire of the Paraguay between them, without suffering any one else to navigate it.

One of these hordes inhabited a part of the Albaya territory, and the other was located towards lat. 23° 17′. They were distinguished by the respective names of *Cadigue* and *Magach*. But the Spaniards applied the general name of Payaguas to the northernmost portion of it, and corrupted that of the other into *Agace*. However, after the death of the cazique, *Magach*, the Spaniards included the horde bearing his name in the general term of Payaguas, forgetting that of *Agace*. The historians, ignorant of these facts, have thought that the Agaces had been exterminated, as no such name was to be found in the number of Indian nations. At present, the whole nation bears the name of Payaguas in Paraguay, notwithstanding the two portions are distinguished by that of *Sarique*, given to the northernmost one, and *Tucumbu* to the other, though they call themselves Cadigues and Siacuas. These Indians have always been the most persevering, crafty, cruel, and treacherous enemies the Spaniards have had to contend with. Their deeds are recorded in several documents deposited in the archives of Assumption.

Perceiving, at last, the increase of the Spanish population in Paraguay, and that of the Portuguese in Cuyaba, with a probable reinforcement from the Spaniards of Buenos Ayres; and convinced, moreover of the insufficiency of their own forces to annihilate the enemy, and the impossibility of an escape, they determined on concluding a bonâ fide treaty of peace with the Spaniards.

The terms they proposed were as follows:—An offensive and defensive alliance against all common enemies; a permission to establish themselves in Assumption, with full liberty to follow their native habits; and freedom to go to war occasionally with those Indians who had no such treaties with the Spaniards. This treaty was concluded in 1740. The Payaguas are not only faithful allies in time of war, but useful and industrious citizens during peace; supplying the Spaniards with fish, timber, canoes, oars, fodder for horses, and many other articles. They spend all the money they make by these productions in brandy, sweetmeats, and other trash; they preserve their native habits. In 1790 the Sariques became incorporated with them, and

they are both united in the capital of Paraguay, constituting a large population.

A certain governor, who was anxious to have his official zeal noticed at home, caused one hundred and fifty-three Indian children, under twelve years of age, to be christened. But, as I have previously remarked, they have no desire to become Christians; and, if compulsory measures were adopted, they would once more become enemies of the Spaniards. Their language is so gutteral and difficult that it can neither be learned nor expressed with our alphabet. But a great many Payaguas understand and speak the Guarani, living, as they do, in a city where hardly any other language is spoken.

Their average stature is about five feet four inches; they are well proportioned, and, in my opinion, more nimble and active than the Spaniards, and than all other Indians; their countenances are more open and less gloomy than those of any other savages. In all the rest they resemble the Guaranis. But their females practice a custom peculiar to them; this is the compressing of their breasts, as soon as they have reached their natural size,

with the same blanket that covers them, or by means of a leather strap, so that they may grow in a downward direction; owing to this practice, when they are only twenty-four years old, their breasts hang down like bags. It is not an uncommon thing to see them suckling their children from under their arms, or over their shoulders.

Their spinning process is likewise curious. The cotton is made up into a long cylinder, half an inch thick, and tied round one of their arms; they then sit on the ground, with stretched legs, and, taking up the spindle, which is nearly two feet in length, they begin to spin, rolling the spindle over their naked thighs; and, without twisting the cotton much, they coil it round the middle of the spindle. When the whole of the cotton round the arm has thus been spun, it is again tied round the arm and twisted once more, collecting it this time round the lower extremity of the spindle. In this state the cotton is used for weaving their blankets, but not for sewing, an operation which they never practice. These blankets consist only of a piece of cotton stuff, more or less large, according to different

purposes. Those worn by aged females are just large enough to cover their backs down to their calves. They are woven without a loom, the threads being attached to a pole at each end, and crossed by another thread. With this cloth they make a kind of apron, which the females tie round their waists. The men go entirely naked, and paint themselves in a whimsical manner: they wear the barbota, and bracelets of various materials and shapes; sometimes they tie round their waists deer hoofs, used by them as musical instruments by shaking them: they cut off their hair in front, and over the ears, and collect the remainder into a tail, tied up with a strip of leather.

The women paint their bodies and limbs in various places. These paintings are not superficial like those of the men, but made by tattooing the skin with a violet colour. Some of them, more conceited than the rest, paint their faces, breasts, and legs, red; and trace, superficially, various designs on these parts. Their hair, like that of the men, is cut off in front, but not over the ears, and the remainder is permitted to grow, and flow around

their shoulders. They are fond of wearing rings of any kind on their fingers, but use no other trinkets.

The huts of this tribe are similar to those already described; the only difference being that they are covered with reeds tied together. It is the women's duty to make the mats, build the huts, weave the cloth, and manufacture the pots and plates; these latter are made of clay, badly baked, and painted with various designs.

The men eat of every thing; but the women never taste meat, for they think it would disagree with them. Like all Indians, they never use either forks or spoons; and, at their meals, always sit at a distance from one another. They likewise resemble all other Indians in using the fore and middle fingers to eat soup, or sauce, which they do as well and as quickly as if they used a spoon; in the manner also of eating fish, the bones of which they separate from the flesh by a peculiar movement of the tongue, collecting them at the sides of the mouth, like monkeys, in order to throw them out altogether after they have done eating; in their abhorrence of milk; and, lastly, in their dirty

habits. Their manner of lighting a fire, by the friction of two dry pieces of wood, is also common to all savage Indians.

It is a curious fact that all Indians are afraid to enter the Spanish houses, either from their darkness, or from fear of their tumbling down; it is for this reason that no savage Indian can be prevailed upon to pass a single night in any of them.

The cazique, or chief of the Sarigues, is the eldest son of Cuatz, whom I have personally known, and who was, I have no doubt, as old as Nibidrigue, or Camba, who, I have already stated, was one hundred and twenty years old. Like the latter, his teeth, hair, sight, &c. were in excellent condition.

Divorce is free to both sexes, though rarely adopted. When it occurs, the wife returns to her friends, taking all her children, as well as all the furniture and other articles in the hut. The husband keeps only his weapons and dress; when there are no children, each party retains what belongs to him or her.

In general, Indian women require no assistance in their confinements; but, during labour pains,

and when heard to groan, they are visited by the neighbouring women, who bring with them some strings of hawks' bills, which they shake over her head for a short time, and continue to do so at intervals until her delivery takes place; her female friends then arrange themselves in two lines, from the hut to the river, which is always near, forming a passage, protected from the wind, through which the patient passes, and enters the water.

The Payaguas are very much addicted to intoxication. On the day set apart for the indulgence of this vice, they fast, and drink an enormous quantity of brandy; they laugh at the Spaniards for eating while they drink, as, they say, no room is left for their liquor. Unmarried men, who live with their fathers, never drink brandy. Neither do the females, unless they can afford to buy it, as their husbands never give them any, while they drink the greater portion of that purchased by their wives. A drunken man is always accompanied by his wife, or a friend; and, when unable to stand on his legs, is conducted to his hut. He then begins to sing and challenge to fight any one

who will dare face him, until overcome by exhaustion he falls asleep. These drunken revels are celebrated on the slightest pretext, and even without any motive.

Besides these, they celebrate a solemn and bloody festival in the month of June. The whole tribe takes part in it, and it is common also to the Guanas, the Albayas, and other tribes; but the females, and those men who are not heads of families are excluded. On the day previous to its celebration the men paint themselves all over, and ornament their heads with feathers of various colours, arranged in most fantastical forms. Their toilet being concluded, they strike up a monotonous and dull kind of noise (intended for music), by beating some earthern vessels covered with skin. The next day they drink all the brandy they have; and, when they are all drunk, begin to pinch each others arms, thighs, and legs, taking up with their fingers as much flesh as they can, and sticking through the pinched parts splinters of wood and large fish bones. This operation is repeated several times during the day, so that every inch of their

arms and legs is at last pierced and skewered in a horrible manner. This is a public spectacle, and is conducted with such revolting particulars as to be indescribable. The Indian women look on all this time with the most perfect unconcern.

I have frequently witnessed this ceremony; but in no instance was a word spoken, or the slightest complaint uttered. In fact, they look more like machines than human beings. The only reason they give for so barbarous a custom, is their desire to show their courage. Their bodies swell very much of course, and the scars on them are never obliterated.

Whilst they are thus suffering from the effects of their wounds, their families are in the greatest distress, as they are unable to procure food. Whenever the wind, or a storm, destroys their huts, they take up some burning cinders, and run against the wind vociferating threats: others beat the air with their hands, in order to frighten away the storm; the same is done by some when they see the new moon; but they say that this is in token of joy. This practice has led many into the error that these

savages worship the moon; but the fact is, that they have no religion.

On several occasions I have spoken of a future life; some told me that they had no idea of it; others replied that all the deceased Payaguas went to a place full of cauldrons and fire; and others again said that only the bad Payaguas went to the latter place, while the souls of the good remained among aquatic plants, and lived on fish. Having asked these last how it was that they did not go to the heaven of the Spaniards, they answered that this was not possible as their origin was different.

Being curious to know what their idea was concerning their origin, I put the question to them:

"Our father," they said "was the fish called, by us, *Pacu;* yours was the one you call *Dorado,* and that of the Guaranis, a *toad.* It is for this reason that your colour is lighter and finer; this is the only advantage you possess over us, as we are superior to you in every thing else; it is from this cause also that the Guaranis are so ridiculous and despicable."

Their medical knowledge and practice, are the

same as those of other Indians. The substance of their treatment in diseases, is to give the patient nothing but fruit and vegetables, in small quantities. It results from this, that many among them, as amongst us, recover, to the doctor's credit, and that many others fall victims to their disease. But if numerous patients die in succession, their friends become infuriated against the doctor, whom they thrash, and sometimes even kill.

Although it is a general opinion, in Europe, that spirit-drinkers are short-lived, these Indians attain, nevertheless, to an exceedingly old age. Very recently, an ancient woman, a native of Paraguay, died at Tucuman, aged one hundred and eighty years.

Some time ago, they used to bury their dead in a sitting posture, with their heads out of the grave, but covered with a large earthen vessel. They have, however, since the conquest, adopted our mode of burial, to prevent the bodies from being devoured.

They are careful in pulling out the grass from the tombs, and constructing over them huts similar to those they inhabit, and in surmounting them

with a number of little earthen pots, shaped like bells.

The Payaguas are totally unacquainted with husbandry of every kind; they, however, manage their canoes admirably. These are from ten to twenty feet long, and sharp at both ends. It sometimes happens that the canoe fills with water in their efforts to haul in some large fish, and it is on such occasions that they exhibit great skill in managing both canoe and fish at the same time, rarely, if ever, losing any article they had before the accident.

When on a warlike expedition, six or eight warriors man each canoe, and propel it by a long, pointed paddle, which likewise answers for a spear. They have also macanas (wooden scimiters) and very powerful bows, with arrows four feet and a half long. They handle these weapons very skilfully.

They kill, in war, all the adult males, preserving only the women and children, like the other savage tribes. They always act by surprise, and endeavour to keep near the river, as, otherwise, they would certainly be vanquished by those tribes that fight on horseback.

THE GUAICURUS.

This is one of the tribes most famous in South American histories. It was also one of the most numerous in former times; and, in my opinion, the most valiant, strong, and warlike. In this tribe were men whose stature was taller than could elsewhere be found.

The Guaicurus inhabited the Chaco, nearly opposite Assumption, and lived exclusively on game. Of this once important and proud nation, only one man remains at present, the best proportioned in the world, and six feet seven inches tall; he has three wives; and, in order to avoid solitude, has joined the Tobas, whose dress, and fashion of painting themselves, he has adopted.

The much-to-be-deplored extermination of this fine race, is not to be entirely ascribed to the war incessantly waged by it against the Spaniards, and all Indian tribes, but also to the barbarous custom of their women of keeping alive their last-born child only.

THE LENGUAS.

This tribe is known by a great variety of names amongst the Indians. The Spaniards, however, call them Lenguas (tongues), from the peculiar shape of the barbota.

They lead a wandering life in the Chaco, and in the neighbourhood of the Guaicurus, and were formerly one of the most powerful, dreaded, ferocious, and revengeful tribes. Their only avocations were war and the chase.

This tribe is now nearly extinct. In 1794 it numbered only fourteen men and nine women. Of these, five were living in the house of Doctor Francisco Armorico Gonzalez.

At the birth of the children, a piece of wood is inserted in their ears, which are successively enlarged until the holes measure two inches in diameter, and their ears hang down to the shoulders. With these Indians, as with all others, the barbota is the distinctive mark of the male sex; that of the Lenguas is very singular. It consists

of a small piece of wood introduced into a horizontal slit cut in the lower lip, and gives them the appearance of having two mouths, the tongue projecting out of the lower one. This is the reason of their name.

When two, or more, persons meet after any absence, they all shed tears before speaking a word.

They give their sick warm water, fruits, and some other light food, and if they do not recover soon, they are abandoned and left to perish; their horror of the dead is so great that they never allow any person to die in their huts. When they perceive the approach of death, they drag the sufferer by the legs for about fifty paces; then place him on his back, with a hole under him, a fire on one side, and a vessel full of water on the other. After this they give him nothing more, and though they frequently visit him, it is only to see if he still lives. As soon as he has expired, his body is enveloped in his blanket, or fur, with all his goods, and dragged some hundred paces further on, and there buried, close under the surface of the ground. The deceased's relatives mourn for three days, but

neither they, nor any one else, ever mention his name again, not even when relating his deeds.

What is most extraordinary, is the custom of each individual changing his name after the death of any one; so that not a single name remains in the tribe of those previously existing. The reason adduced by them for so strange a proceeding is as follows: When any one of them dies, they say it is because death had introduced itself amongst them, and that when departing with the deceased it has taken away the list of all the living, in order to kill them on its return; that, by changing their names, death cannot find those it seeks, and is thus compelled to look for them somewhere else.

One of these hordes lives in subterranean artificial caves. These caves are small and dirty, and lighted only through a door, or rather a little aperture, imperfectly closed. They make their fires outside.

The other hordes construct huts, or portable tents, of mats, like the Lenguas. They do not yield to the latter in stature, strength, elegance, and beauty of form. They resemble them also in the

size of their ears and in their habits. They are very revengeful. The chase and a few sheep supply them with their principal food; nevertheless, they cultivate maize, mandioca, porotos, &c., as an additional means of subsistence. Not long since, they acquired some dogs, which they prize so much that they even allow them to eat a sheep now and then.

THE ENIMAGAS.

These Indians call themselves *Cochaboz*. According to a tradition of theirs, this tribe was divided into two hordes at the period of the Spanish conquest. They inhabited the northern bank of the Pilcomayo, in the heart of the Chaco. They are very much addicted to divorce; so much so, that I have known one of them, aged thirty, who had already repudiated six wives, and was married to the seventh.

THE GUENTUSE.

This nation formerly dwelt in the Chaco, oppo-

site the territory of the Enimagas. They subsist on the produce of the chase and agriculture. Like all other Indians, they have no idea of using animal labour to plough the earth. In this operation they are excelled by the Guanas tribe, who make use of a kind of spade, formed by fixing a horse's shoulder-blade to a stick. As this tribe is migratory, they sow something in every place through which they pass, reaping on their return.

THE TOBAS.

This tribe inhabits a part of the Chaco, between the Pilcomayo and the Bermyo, and are similar in habits and customs to the Payaguas.

THE PITILAGAS

Are a small tribe, numbering about two hundred warriors; they are similar in language, manners, and customs, to the above tribe.

THE AGUILAT

Are a branch from the Macobys.

THE MACOBYS.

This powerful tribe is divided into four hordes, numbering altogether two thousand warriors. They live by the chase, and what cattle they can steal from the Spaniards. Continual efforts have been made to civilize these Indians; or, at least, to form settlements amongst them, as their repeated depredations were very troublesome. Immense sums of money were lavished, either to coerce or conciliate them, but without success.

THE ABIPONES.

These Indians, as warlike, haughty, and strong as the Macobys, waged a cruel and bloody war with the former tribe; but, from inferiority of numbers, were obliged at length to solicit Spanish protection. This tribe is not distinguished from the Macobys by any peculiarity worthy of note.

THE VILELAS AND CHUMIPYS

Are little known. Each tribe consists of about one hundred warriors.

THE JARAYES.

These inhabited a low and marshy tract, called Matogroso; they are of a lofty stature and martial aspect. Numerous stories are related of them, which are entirely false.

Many other tribes existed once east of the Paraguay. They have all been either subdued, destroyed, or civilized by the Santa Cruz and Sierra Spaniards, or by the Jesuits of the province of Chiquitos.

DON FELIX AZARA'S REMARKS ON THE INDIANS.

It is a well authenticated fact that all the preceding tribes described by me, subsisted, at the period of the conquest, on agriculture, hunting, and fishing, just as they do now. None of them led a pastoral life, as domestic animals were unknown to them.

We have seen that the hunting tribes, like the Charruas, Minuanas, &c. are the most wandering, warlike, hardy, ferocious, and indolent: those whose

subsistence is derived from fishing, as the Payaguas, Guasarapas, and Guatos are more active and stationary, though equally strong, martial, and ferocious ; while those following agriculture are all tractable, mild, and peaceful, though of large stature and more powerful, as is the case with the Guanas, Machueuys, and Guentuses.

The agricultural tribes sew cotton, mani, maize, sweet potatoes, pimentos, porotos, mandiaca, camanioca, pumpkins, and a great many different species of these plants ; and yet we cannot conceive whence they obtained them, for none of them grow spontaneously in that country. Our Spanish agriculturists, by dint of study, labour, and trials, have at last succeeded in producing flowers, fruits, and grains; but, as yet, they do not possess those many varieties of maize, sweet potatoes, pumpkins, &c. cultivated by the Indians, who, being in a savage state, and destitute of that knowledge and mechanical means of so much assistance to civilized men, merely dig a hole in the ground with a pointed stick, placing the seed in it, and, frequently without any further notice being taken of the effects of this

operation until reaping time. Thus it would appear that primitive husbandry is sometimes more effectual than scientific skill.

It is a remarkable fact that the Guarani language has spread over an immense territory, peopled by Portuguese, French and Spaniards, part of which is that I have described; and that it should have been effected by a multitude of independent hordes, almost isolated, ignorant of commerce, and more so of the use of books; while the governments of France and Spain, notwithstanding their efforts, their schools, their books, and their means of intercourse, have never been able to introduce in their dominions the general and exclusive use of the Spanish and French languages.

It is worthy of remark that the Portuguese in a few years reduced to slavery all the Guaranis of Brazil: that within the same space of time the Spanish conquerors collected upwards of forty settlements of them. It is surprising to behold these savage nations, without religion, laws, rulers, or any idea of a future life, submit nevertheless, of their own accord, to certain practices

in their weddings, mournings, &c. more extravagant and cruel than the most hard-hearted tyrant could think of inflicting.

Of their limited fecundity I have been convinced by the inspection of several returns. These documents likewise exhibit a preponderance of females over males; and it appears from them also that in those tribes which do not destroy their children, no woman ever had ten, and that in general they are not so prolific as the Spanish dames. This cannot be attributed to the climate; nor can it be supposed that a large proportion of Indian children die from want of proper nourishment caused by the severity of the mothers' habits; for they have always plenty to eat, and their practices, far from debilitating them, makes them stronger than we are, and lengthens their lives in the constant enjoyment of good health.

The men surpass the brute creation in their insensibility to the sufferings of hunger, inclemency of the weather, barbarous practices, &c., and the impassibility with which they meet even a violent death.

With respect to the local situation of these tribes, I cannot conceive by what means some of them are

found fixed within the territories of others; as, for instance, the Guarani tribe contains in its bosom other tribes, as the Tupis, the Guayanas, the Nuaras, &c. If these latter penetrated into the interior of the country previously to their being surrounded by the Guaranis, how is it that they have not, like them, multiplied and extended their limits? If, on the contrary, they expelled the Guaranis from the places they afterwards occupied, how came they to allow themselves to be subsequently thus wedged in?

It is still more inconceivable in what manner and by what route these tribes found their way to the countries they now inhabit. In fact, if they come from the north, how is it that not a single Indian of the races herein described has remained in any part of North America? Is it possible that the Charruas, the Pampas, the Patagonians and many other tribes, the strongest and most indomitable people in the world, could not establish themselves in the deserts of North America? Would not the north have offered them as much land and facilities for hunting and fishing, as those enjoyed by the

tribes now inhabiting those immense regions, and swarming with game? It is not likely that the North American Indians were powerful enough to drive them thus far south from their country, since we have seen that all the power of the Spaniards, with the additional advantage of horses and fire arms, has failed in effecting a similar result after three centuries of constant warfare.

The first Spaniards who had intercourse with the South American savages, did not consider them as men having a common origin with us, but rather as an intermediate species between man and beast; differing, in many respects from Europeans, though similar in appearance, and incapable of intellectual faculties and religious feelings. Such was the belief of the greater portion of the laity, and even of many respected clergymen. One of the latter, Francisco Gomas Ortiz, bishop of Santa Marta, wrote a long memoir to the supreme council at Madrid, stating that he had come to a conclusion, after long intercourse with the South American Indians, that they were stupid beings, incapable of understanding our religion and observing its precepts.

On the other hand, several clergymen, among whom was the renowned Francisco Bartolomé de Las Casas, asserted a contrary opinion, namely, that the Indians belonged to our species, and were as well qualified to become Christians as ourselves.

A warm controversy between the two parties ensued; and some clergymen, with the view of conciliating the disputants, admitted that the Indians were rational beings, but of so limited a capacity, that no other sacrament but that of baptism ought to be administered to them.

Things were in this state when Las Casas declared himself the champion and apologist of the American Indians. He alleged in their favour all the reasons he could think of, and, among other modes of dispute, reviled the Spaniards; stating, that their object in asserting the intellectual disabilities of the Indians, was to treat them as brutes. It was thus that he obtained a bull from Pope Paul III., dated June 2nd, 1537, declaring that the Indians were in reality human beings.

This, however, was not sufficient to induce the clergy of Peru to administer the Eucharistic sacra-

ment to the Indians, and for nearly one hundred years this bull was totally disregarded.

The scruples of the clergy were only overcome by several grand councils held in Lima, Arequipa, Chuquisaca, La Paz, and Assumption. Even the holy see entertained some doubts as to the religious capacity of the Indians, *for they were excepted from the jurisdiction of the tribunal of the inquisition.*

ON THE MEANS EMPLOYED BY THE SPANISH CONQUERORS, TO SUBDUE THE INDIAN TRIBES, AND THEIR METHOD OF GOVERNING THEM.

The chiefs intrusted with the conquest of Paraguay and the river Plate, established a distinction in their mode of dealing with the Indians. If these insulted or injured in any way the Spaniards, the latter, after vanquishing them, would distribute them amongst themselves and treat them as servants. Many Indians, however, solicited the Spaniards most earnestly to take them into their service.

This was the origin of the commanderies called *Yanaconas*, and *Indios Originarios* (original In-

dians). In these establishments each Spanish commander kept at his house all the Indians of both sexes and of all ages that were dependent on his commandery, and employed them as he thought fit. But he was not allowed to sell or ill-treat them, nor to forsake them on account of bad conduct, sickness, or age; he was, moreover, obliged to clothe and feed them, as well as to give every assistance to the sick; also, to have them instructed in religion and in some trade. The observance of these duties was subject to a yearly inspection or visit, at which the Indians were allowed to bring forward their complaints.

It is thus that a distribution was made, not only of the Guaranis, then existing in San Isidro and Las Conchas, and in the islands of the lower Parana but also some Pampas, Agaces or Payaguas, Guaicurus, and Albayas that had been made prisoners of war; as well as the Orejones, and others of the province of Chiquitos, that had been brought over from Paraguay.

But those Indians who gave in their submission in time of peace, and those that capitulated in

war, were made to choose a locality in the same district. A Cazique, or chief, was then appointed, together with other municipal officers; the men only from eighteen to fifty years old were obliged to serve the commanderies by turns for the space of two months; the remainder of the year they were at liberty, exempt from service and enjoying absolute freedom and equality with the Spaniards.

As the Spanish governors were constantly receiving orders and suggestions from home, having for their object the extension of the Spanish rule, Domingo Martinez de Irala invented a mode of progressing without expense to the mother country. If he heard of the existence of a new tribe, he conferred their possession upon any adventurer willing to incur the expense and trouble and danger of subjugating them. This, if successful, constituted a commandery.

In compensation for the labour, expence and risk thus incurred by private individuals (never by the government) in reducing the Indians, and forming townships, Irala issued the following regulations:

The commanderies were to belong to the original proprietor and his successor for life, after which

they were to be abolished, and the Indians placed on an equal footing of liberty with the Spaniards, subject only to the payment of tribute to the treasury. It would have been impossible to combine more effectually the progress of conquest and civilization.

The first Spaniards only took with them to America one clergyman, therefore no religious instruction was, nor could be, derived from the clergy; and even twenty years after the conquest, the number of priests in the country only amounted to seventeen, including the bishop, canons, and monks. All of them were ignorant of the native languages, and a catechism had not been yet formed.

When, at last, the Spanish towns or colonies reached the number of seven or eight, and the Indian settlements to about forty, with scarcely twenty clergymen in the whole territory, it was found impossible for them to attend to all. Consequently Jesuits were sent for, and on their arrival, in the beginning of the seventeenth century, the ecclesiastical judge distributed them in the best manner.

I cannot omit observing here, that the decline of

the Spanish empire, and the cessation of Indian subjection, dates from the arrival of the Jesuits.

In 1672, Don Francisco Alfare arrived, with full powers as a judge of the Court of Appeal of Charcas. He immediately issued an order that no one was henceforth to make war on the Indians, and that commanderies were to be abolished. The Portuguese, however, still continued not only to give rights of commandery, but likewise permission to sell the Indians as slaves for life; they moreover continued eagerly to search every nook and corner of that country in quest of savages. They penetrated into our territories, usurped a portion of them, increased their population, and discovered mines.

The settlements formed by the Spaniards after the arrival of Don Francisco Alfare, were kept as secretly as possible, and not only were totally unknown to the government of Spain, but their existence was not suspected even at Buenos Ayres; for had it not been from the information given by me, the fact would be still unknown in the latter province.

The following table will give some idea of the settlements formed:

TABLE SHOWING THE NAMES OF THE INDIAN SETTLEMENTS FORMED BY THE GOVERNORS; YEAR OF THEIR FOUNDATION; THEIR LATITUDE AND LONGITUDE.

The Letter *d* indicates a doubt as to the precise locality of the settlement.

Name of Settlement.	Year of Foundation.	Latitude, South.	Longitude of Paris.	Remarks.
Yta	1536	25° 30′ 30″	59° 45′ 8″	
Yaguaron.....	do.	25 33 20	59 89 14	
Aregua.....	1538	25 18 1	59 45 38	
Altos	do.	25 16 6	59 88 30	
Yoys	do.	25 16 45	59 30 22	
Tobaty.....	do.	25 1 35	59 29 1	
Ipané	do.	23 16 26	59 22 10	
Guarambare...	do.	23 23 1	59 19 29	
Atira	do.	*d*23 26 17	*d*59 26 57	Incorporated to that of Yoys in 1674.
Maracayu ...	do.	24 7 25	57 52 54	Destroyed by the Portuguese in 1676.
Terecany	do.	24 9 30	58 12 10	
Obiraparya ...	do.	24 22 56	58 15 28	
Candelaria ...	do.	24 30 43	58 29 4	
Loreto.....	1555	In the Province of Guaira		Destroyed by the Portuguese in 1631.
S. Ignacio-Miri	do.			
S. Javier	do.			
S. Josef	do.			
Anunciacion...	do.			
S. Miguel ...	do.			
S. Antonio ...	do.			
S. Pedro	do.			
S. Tome	do.			
Angeles	do.			
Concepcion ...	do.			
S. Pablo	do.			
Jesus Maria...	do.			

Name of Settlement.	Year of Foundation.	Latitude, South.			Longitude of Paris.			Remarks.
Calchaqui	1573	32°	34′	2″	63°	26′	30″	Dispersed.
Perico Guazu..	1579	23	13	30	59	15	25	Destroyed, 1674, by the Portuguese.
Jesui	do.	*d*24	4	0	*d*59	19	0	Ditto, 1676, ditto.
Curumiay ...	1580	*d*23	0	0	*d*57	1	0	Ditto, 1635, ditto
Pacuyu	do.	20	25	0	57	41	0	Ditto, 1745, by the Payaguas.
Baradero	do.	33	46	35	62	6	30	
Otroma	1588	27	46	0	60	59	56	
Guacaras	do.	27	27	31	60	55	8	
Itaty	do.	27	17	0	60	31	38	
S. Lucia	do.	28	59	30	61	18	8	
Tarcy	1592	22	4	0	60	18	4	Now joined, under the name of S. Maria de la Fé.
Bombay	do.	*d*22	14	0	*d*60	0	0	
Caaguazu.....	do.	*d*22	30	0	*d*59	30	0	Called Santiago by the Jesuits.
Caazapa	1607	26	11	8	58	49	49	
Yuty	1610	27	18	55	58	39	29	
Arecaya	1632	*d*24	22	40	*d*58	37	0	Joined to Altos in 1675.
S. Domingo...	1650	*d*33	23	56	60	38	20	
Itapé	1673	25	52	0	58	59	33	
Guilmes	1677	34	38	45	60	36	50	
S. Javier	1748	30	32	15	61	27	15	
S. Geronimo..	1748	29	10	20	61	43	46	
Gayasta	1749	31	9	20	62	39	0	
S. Pedro.....	1765	29	57	0	62	37	0	
Garzas.....	1770	28	28	49	61	11	40	
Yaispiu	1795	20	43	30	62	40	30	

The following table shews the different settlements formed by the Jesuits. The only difference is, that the greater economy, dexterity, and ability of the Jesuits, compared to those of the other chiefs rendered more durable the existence of their settlements.

TABLE SHEWING THE NUMBER, NAMES, ETC. OF THE SETTLEMENTS ESTABLISHED BY THE JESUITS.

Name of Settlements.	Year of Foundation.	Latitude, South.			Longitude, West of Paris.			Remarks.
San Ignacio Guazu ...	1609	26°	54′	36″	59°	4′	14″	
Itapua	1614	27	20	16	58	12	59	
Concepcion ...	1620	27	53	44	57	57	18	
Corpus.....	1622	27	7	23	57	52	29	
Sa. Ma. Mayor	1626	27	53	14	56	46	4	
Yapeyu	do.	29	31	47	58	58	28	
Candelaria ...	1627	27	26	46	58	7	34	
San Nicolas...	do.	28	12	0	57	29	49	
San Javier ...	1629	27	51	8	57	34	4	
La Cruz	do.	29	29	1	58	48	28	
San Carlos ...	1631	27	54	43	59	9	19	
Apostales.....	1632	28	25	6	57	22	14	
San Luis	do.	28	32	36	56	59	27	
San Miguel ...	do.	28	32	49	58	17	48	
San Tome ...	do.	27	23	45	57	58	39	
S. Ana.....	1633	27	23	45	57	58	39	
S. Jose.....	do.	27	45	52	58	8	57	
Martires	do.	27	47	37	57	50	2	

Name of Settlement.	Year of Foundation.	Latitude, South.			Longitude West of Paris.			Remarks.
S. Cosme.....	1634	27°	18′	55″	58°	39′	29″	
Jesus	1685	27	2	36	58	25	6	
S. Borja	1690	28	39	51	58	15	58	Colony of S. Tome.
S. Lorenzo ...	1691	28	27	24	57	8	30	Ditto of S. Maria Mayor.
S. Rosa	1698	26	53	13	59	14	39	Ditto of S. Maria de la Fé.
S. Juan	do.	28	26	56	56	48	40	Ditto S. Miguel.
Trinidad	1706	27	7	85	58	4	50	Ditto S. Carlos.
S. Angelo.....	1707	28	17	19	57	0	12	Ditto Concepcion.
S. Joaquin ...	1746	25	1	47	58	33	20	
S. Estanislao..	1749	24	88	81	58	56	15	
Belon	1750	23	26	17	59	28	0	

The above longitudes and latitudes are those of the present locality of the settlements; it would be impossible to fix their former situation. In this table, other settlements founded by the Jesuits, and by them mentioned in their histories, are not included, because they have almost all been incorporated with those that are named; and, also, because scarcely one of them was completely established at the period of the Jesuits' expulsion.

MEASURES ADOPTED BY THE JESUITS FOR THE SUBJECTION OF THE INDIANS, AND THEIR MODE OF GOVERNING THEM.

The Jesuits entered Paraguay towards the end of the sixteenth century, when the number of clergymen in that country was so small that it was only in a few instances that one was to be found in the Indian settlements; and even many Spanish towns were without any. Consequently, opportunities were not wanting for the display of their religious zeal; but they distinguished themselves more particularly in subduing the savages and forming a multitude of Indian settlements which are still extant.

The Jesuits claim for themselves the credit of having founded, among others, the settlements of San Ignacio-Miri, Loreto, Santa Maria de la Fé, and Santiago, which I have included in the preceding table; but it is demonstrated by documents existing in the archives of Assumption, that those settlements were delivered to them already formed.

The only thing they did was to cause the Indians to emigrate as far as the Parana, where they instructed and governed them in the same manner as those whom they originally formed into settlements. It is for this reason, that although I do not consider the said settlements as of exclusively Jesuitical origin, I allude to the Jesuits whenever I speak of their government and civilization.

In one of the foregoing tables we have a list of twenty-nine settlements founded by the Jesuits. The first twenty-six form the famous province of the Guaranis missions, situated on the banks of the Parana and Uruguay. The three last are found north of Paraguay, at a great distance from the former. I have not discovered in any ancient manuscript, an account of the means employed by the Jesuits for the establishment of the twenty-six settlements comprised within those missions. The Jesuits' own account is in substance as follows:

They began by forming the settlement of San Ignacio-Guazu in 1679, with the assistance of a large number of picked Indians, whom they brought with them from the ancient town of Yaguarou, and

of several detachments of Spanish troops. They forced the savage Indians to submit to a fixed residence, thereby forming settlements of them; they thus formed in the first twenty-five years, eighteen more settlements; and after a lapse of fifty-one years, they founded the town of Jesus, assisted by Indians taken from Yatapua, a settlement which was then already seventy-one years old.

With regard to the other six colonies in the same province, they were not formed of Indian savages, but of detachments of colonists from other settlements.

The Jesuits affirm that in the civilization of the Indians they confined themselves to preaching and persuasion. Nevertheless, two things strike me; first, that they founded the first ten settlements within the short period of twenty-five years, after which the efficacy of their preaching seems to have suddenly ceased, for it produced no results for about one hundred and twelve years; namely from 1634, year of foundation of San Cosme, till that of San Joaquin in 1746. During this long interval, no other settlement was established by them, save that

of Jesus, and even this owed its existence, less to the preaching of the Jesuits, than to the assistance they obtained from the Indians of Itapua. Secondly, these twenty-five years so fruitful of foundations, correspond exactly with the period when the Portuguese eagerly and furiously pursued the Indians in order to sell them; and when the latter being scared, took refuge between the Parana and the Uruguay, and the neighbouring woods, which were of difficult access to their cruel pursuers.

The foregoing observations tend to induce a belief that the famous Jesuitical settlements were rather the offspring of fear on the part of the Indians, excited by the Portuguese, than of the persuasive talent of the Jesuits. This idea is further confirmed by the very nature of the means employed by the Jesuits in the establishment of the last three settlements enumerated in the table. In this case, they abandoned, as useless, their spiritual agency, and had recourse to measures strictly secular. But they acted with so much prudence, moderation, and ability that they are deserving of the highest encomiums. The Jesuits, however, kept

their conduct very secret, which was natural; for, as clergymen, they wished their actions to appear on every occasion as consistent with their calling.

I had the following opportunity of acquiring information concerning their operations. The Jesuits having ascertained that some savage Guaranis were in the Taruma, they sent them a few presents by two Indians who spoke the same language. These presents and embassies were repeated, accompanied by a message that they were sent by a Jesuit who loved them tenderly, who wished to live among them, and afford them valuable things, as cows, &c., so that they might procure an easy subsistence without work. The Indians accepted his offer, and the Jesuit went to them accompanied by a large number of chosen natives from the established missions. These remained with him, in order to build his house and take care of his cows, which, however, did not last long, as these neophytes thought of nothing but eating. They asked for more cows, which were again brought to them by Indians chosen as the former, and who all

remained in the place under pretence of being necessary for the erection of a church and other buildings, tilling of the land, &c.

Abundance of food, the curate's affability, the good conduct of the Indians who had brought the cows, added to feasting, music, and the avoidance of every appearance of subjection, attracted to this settlement all the neighbouring savages.

When the Jesuit perceived that his chosen Indians mustered a larger number than the savages, the latter were suddenly surrounded, and given to understand in a few words, but mildly, that it was not just that their brethren should work for them. Some seemed inclined to grumble; but owing to the superiority of the curate's Indians, and also to his manner of coaxing some, and punishing others, while he kept constant watch on all for a certain time, the settlement of San Joaquin was at last permanently established.

Our astute Jesuit did still more; for he afterwards distributed these savages among the missions of Parana, whence they made their escape and returned to their native country; but they were

again captured, and, by the same means as before, formed into the colony of San Estanislao.

I have seen in both settlements, hundreds of those Indians who had brought the cows, and from whom I learnt what I have just stated; and these are, even at this day, more numerous than the savages. I place greater reliance on their statement, than on that of the Jesuit José Mao, who asserts that only twelve Indians were employed in bringing over the cattle.

In the foundation of the colonies of San Joaquin and San Estanislao, the Jesuits had in view the establishment of a communication between their missions of Parana and Uruguay, and those they had in the province of Chiquitos. With this view they attempted the foundation of Belen under the tropic, by the same means which had proved so successful in the two settlements above alluded to; but here they were baffled, having to deal with the Albayas, who were not to be subdued by all the Guaranis in the world. The Jesuit who had undertaken the task soon became aware of its difficulty, and thought of getting rid of the prin-

cipal Albayas, under an impression that it would be easy after that to reduce the rest to obedience. He therefore made the Albayas believe, that the subjugated Indians of Chiquitos desired to make peace with them, and give up some prisoners they had captured from them. By means of this stratagem he succeeded in drawing to the missions of Chiquitos all the Albayas of whom he wished to get rid. On their arrival at Santo Corayou they were received very pompously and accompanied to the town with a band of music. Their arrival was celebrated with great rejoicings; but, afterwards, having made them lie down for the night separately, and every thing being in readiness, at the first stroke of the midnight bell, they were all secured and retained as prisoners till the expulsion of the Jesuits. They were then liberated by the new administrators, after which they returned to their country.

Having now to describe the kind of government established by the Jesuits in their Indian settlements, I shall include in my observations the twenty-nine colonies given in my table, and the other four, which, though not formed by them, were afterwards

subject to their government and instruction. The thirty-three missions were ruled as follows:

Each settlement contained two resident Jesuits. The one called the curate was a man who had previously been a provincial or rector in their colleges; or, at least, he was an aged monk: he did not exercise any clerical function; he merely attended to the temporal administration of the settlements. The spiritual part was intrusted to the other Jesuit, called a companion, or vice-curate, subordinate to the former. The Jesuits of all the settlements were subject to the vigilance and control of another priest, called the superior of the missions, who was besides the Pope's delegate in confirmation. These settlements were not ruled by laws, either civil or criminal, but merely by the Jesuits' will. There were, indeed, in each of them an Indian magistrate (corregidor,) justices of the peace, and the other officers forming a municipal body, as in the Spanish towns; but they exercised no authority, and were merely the tools of the curates, in whom the real power was vested, even in criminal cases. All Indians of both sexes were

compelled by them to work for the community alone, not one of them being permitted to do so on his own account. The produce of their labour was stored by the curate, who was charged with the feeding and clothing of every one.

It is evident from all this that the Jesuits were the absolute masters of all; that all the goods of the community were at their disposal; and that all the Indians were equal without any distinction, and holding no property of their own. No motives, therefore, of emulation existed to stimulate their abilities and mental faculties, since the most skilful, the most virtuous, the most active, were not better fed or clothed than the rest, nor could they ever enjoy any advantage that was not common to all.

The Jesuits succeeded in persuading the world that this was the best of all governments—one under which the Indians were perfectly happy; for, like children, they were incapable of governing themselves. They compared their authority to that of a father of a family; and alleged that in laying up stores they had in view, not their own interest, but that alone of their adopted children, who, being

incapable of foresight, were careless in providing for the future wants of their families.

This kind of government has been so much extolled in Europe as to cause the happy condition of the Indians to be envied. But the fact is that, in their savage state, the Indians know how to provide for their families; and that the very individual tribes that had been colonized in Paraguay, lived a century before in perfect liberty, without any idea of community of goods, without the least knowledge of the necessity of being ruled by any one, and without store-keepers: and all this under the burthen of the commanderies, which deprived them of the sixth part of their yearly labour. It is, therefore, evident that they were not helpless like children, as we are required to believe.

But even admitting their want of capacity, as two centuries have not sufficed to correct the faults arising therefrom, we must infer one of two things, either that the Jesuits administration was opposed to the civilization of the Indians, or that such people are incapable of emerging from a state of infancy.

The four settlements of Loreto, San Ignacio-Miri,

Santa Maria de la Fé, and Santiago, were constituted as commanderies when the Jesuits took charge of their administration; such was also the case with those of San Ignacio-Guazu, Itapua, and Corpus; and these commanderies, as we have seen, being constituted in a manner opposed entirely to the ideas of the Jesuits, the latter came to the resolution of breaking them up.

In order to effect their purpose, they exaggerated the immorality of the commanders, and taxed them with cruelty and avarice; by this means, the favour they enjoyed at court, and the weakness of the inhabitants of Paraguay, who dared not raise their voice in refutation of such calumnies, the Jesuits attained their wished-for abolition of the commanderies. It is true that this suppression was to take place at the death of the second proprietor, for the commanderies amounted to a kind of slave-ownership; but as the Jesuits did not obtain, nor did they solicit, their extinction, except as far as their own settlements were concerned, the other commanderies remaining as before, they were suspected of personal interest.

The motives alleged by them were positive calumnies. In Paraguay, it is true, some tyranny was practised; but none of the other vices named by the Jesuits did, or could, exist there. Neither money, mines, manufactories, large buildings, commerce of any importance, nor luxuries were known there; the Indians could only be employed in agriculture and as herdsmen; therefore, it cannot be true that they were put to such severe tasks, particularly in collecting Paraguay herb, as to cause the death of hundreds of thousands, as stated by the Jesuits. At that time no more herb was collected than was necessary for the consumption of the country and exportation to Buenos Ayres; but even supposing the consumption to have been as considerable then as it is now all over South America, one hundred and fifty men would have been sufficient for the purpose of gathering it.

Philosophers and authors of all nations seem to have conspired for the purpose of reviling the conduct of the Spaniards towards the South American Indians: they might have said a great deal more of their respective countries, had they been informed

of the conduct pursued in America by the English, the Dutch, the Portuguese, the French, and even the Germans, sent there by their countryman, Charles V. But as all those nations had only one object in view, namely, to satisfy their covetousness by extracting all they could from that country and its unhappy inhabitants, there is not found among them a single author willing to expose their conduct, as all feel it is their interest to be silent on a subject which must for ever cover those concerned with universal opprobium.

The Spaniards, on the other hand, incessantly occupied in civilizing the Indians, and particularly in instructing them in religion, had to employ clergymen, at a considerable expence to the government, and, what is still worse, at the cost of their national reputation and glory; for, some of those clergymen, availing themselves of the liberty afforded by their high calling, so much respected in those times, tarnished the reputation of their countrymen, by means of those calumnies above adverted to, for the sole purpose of promoting their own ambitious projects. This is the source

whence all declaimers against the Spaniards have drawn their arguments. Few are aware of the fact that Spain has always possessed a voluminous code of laws, in which every sentence, nay, every word, breathes humanity and the most decided protection in favour of the Indians, whose equality in every thing with the Spaniards is therein promulgated; while I never heard of a single line having been written by any other nation with a view of promotiug the welfare of its Indian subjects.

It would be preposterous to say that our laws were good, but were never executed; since it is well known that we still hold millions of Indians, both civilized and in a savage state; and I could prove by original and authentic returns of the time of the foundation of each settlement, and a comparison with those of the present time, that the primitive stock of Indians has increased, notwithstanding an immense number of them have become assimilated to the Spaniards, through the continued mixture of both races. The Spaniards might point out to those foreign pseudo-philosophers numberless settlements and original nations of Indians, existing at this day

in the very heart of their possessions; and might say to them: "Show us the Aborigines still extant "in *your* colonies; let us compare their numbers "with ours, and see whether, in proportion, the "balance is in your favour."

Foreign nations might perhaps experience no little embarrasment were they called upon to name even one settlement of primitive Indians, and that one composed perhaps of only a dozen families; if there are any more, they are sure to be of recent growth and deserters from our dominions. Indeed, after abusing us for several centuries, all nations have at last endeavoured to follow our example, by attracting the natives and forming settlements.

With regard to the savage Indians, it is true that tribes of them are found on the boundaries of foreign possessions; but none in the interior, as in ours; and both the government officers and private individuals of those nations are daily striving to rid themselves of such neighbours, by exciting intestine wars among them, and more frequently by shooting them.

The Spanish character has not changed; it is

most constant and humane. It has never been guilty of the abominable traffic in slaves; and when from necessity some of them have been bought, they have been kindly treated and never subjected to those cruelties practised by other nations. How then, can it be affirmed that those same Spaniards have acted towards the Aborigines of South America more like tigers and lions than human beings? The Indians who were really unfortunate, owed their misfortunes not to the conduct of the Spaniards, but to the natural effects of the erroneous political system imposed upon the latter, and which, though most absurd and despotic, is nevertheless that which has found most favour with philosophers.

The Jesuits, having suppressed the commanderies in their missions, and effected a commutation of tithes in lieu of every kind of government taxes, and having obtained also the right of administering the sacrament of confirmation,—had, as it were, cut off all connexion between the Indians and their king and bishops, and even with the Spaniards, for they were not permitted to trade with the latter. Still they wished to establish their independence by

more positive means, so as to render impossible both the intercourse with the Spaniards and the Indians' desertion. With this view they caused deep ditches to be dug round their settlements, with palisades, gates, and bolts. In those places where an entrance was necessary. In these places they stationed sentinels, who were not to allow any one to pass through without a written order. The territory belonging to each settlement was indicated, not by means of boundary stones, but by other ditches, gates, and sentries, to prevent the Indians from going over to another settlement. For the same reason no Indian was allowed to ride on horseback, except those appointed by the Jesuits, for the purpose of carrying their commands, and attending to their cattle; and in order to limit the number even of these, they caused the pasture-grounds to be divided and surrounded by drains.

All these positive and serious arrangements, and the warlike attitude they assumed, under the pretence of protection from the attacks of savages, made some people suspect that those settlements contained valuable mines, while others thought that the Jesuits

aspired to the formation of an independent empire. These suspicions increased when, not content with opposing the entrance to their towns by private individuals, they acted in similar manner towards some governors, who, in obedience to superior orders, wished to inspect the census returns, and even towards bishops who were going the round of their churches. As so scandalous an opposition would have been still more so, had no exception been made, they allowed some of their settlements to be visited by a few governors and bishops, whose reports, they well knew would be favourable to them. But, in truth, they did not possess any mines, and the weakness of the Indians under their rule was such, that independence was out of the question, even with the small number of Spaniards then in Paraguay.

But I do not know whether the Jesuits themselves, especially those in Europe, were so well aware of the extent of their weakness, as I was, for the human heart and self-love are frequently deceived. Consequently it is still problematical whether they really did aim at independence. It is, however, certain that the

Jesuits did everything in their power to encourage and instruct their troops; for all the dances they introduced into their settlements were almost exclusively confined to fencing with swords, in which females were never allowed to join.

It is possible that the Jesuits of Europe may have been ignorant in a great measure of the conduct of their brethren in South America. But it is a fact that they did not all approve of their doings concerning the Indians, nor of their conduct in the famous disputes between them and the Spaniards of Paraguay, which more than once ended in the expulsion by the former of the latter.

Among the papers left in that country by the Jesuits, a letter was found written by Father Rabago, the substance of which was, that the complaints against them that reached the court, were so numerous and of so grave a character, that although he (Rabago) was the confessor of the king, and could consequently control his will, it was impossible for him to avoid the effects of these complaints; he therefore advised them to arrange matters and come to amicable terms, cost what it

may, with the inhabitants of Paraguay, for his patience was already exhausted, and he could no longer grant them his protection.

At last, the court of Spain conceived alarming suspicions against the Jesuits; particularly as it was known that they were almost all either English, Italian, or German; and that the few among them who were Spaniards had no authority whatever. But the government dared not endanger its authority by taking vigorous steps, through fear of its troops being repulsed. It merely intimated to the Jesuits that, after a century and a half, the time had arrived when the Indians should become free, so that they might act independently, and trade with the Spaniards; and that it was necessary to withdraw them from a seclusion more fit for rabbits than for men.

The Jesuits still contended that the Spaniards were as bad as they had represented them, and that the Indians were not able to act for themselves. But as the arguments against them were self-evident and expressed with vigour, in order to evade them, they offered to make a trial by gradually accustom-

ing the natives to the knowledge of individual right of property; giving each Indian some land to be cultivated by him two days in the week, and which would be his own property.

With this proposal the government rested satisfied, not knowing its futility. In fact, as the Indians were deprived of the means of selling their surplus produce, they could obtain nothing more than what the community allowed them. Besides, the Jesuits laid up in their stores the produce of the lands granted as above, just the same as that of the rest. It is unquestionable that the Jesuits governed in a very arbitrary manner, much about the same as those chiefs who have succeeded them, and adopted their system. But the Jesuits used greater moderation. They introduced dances, tournaments, and other amusements in their settlements: they gave the Indians every year the clothing which I have already described, and supplied them with sufficient and even abundant food. They made them work only twelve hours a day, and even labour had a certain appearance of festivity; for when the labourers went out to their work they marched in procession,

with a band of music, carrying a small image; this was placed in a kind of shed formed with branches, the band playing all the time they were at work and on their return home.

The women were exclusively occupied in spinning. The linen manufactured by the Indians, after deducting what was necessary for their clothing, was sold in the Spanish towns, where it was sent, together with cotton, tobacco, dry vegetables, and Paraguay herb. These goods were conveyed in vessels belonging to the Jesuits on the navigable rivers within their reach, returning laden with earthenware and other goods, of which they were in need.

The priests remained constantly shut up in their houses or in their colleges, without ever seeing a woman, or conversing with any more Indians than was indispensable to them. On those points they were so strict that they never entered the Indians' houses; and when the sick required their religious assistance, they were carried to a room near the college designed for this particular purpose; the priest would then go in a sedan-chair to the invalid's room, to administer the sacraments.

Whenever the Jesuits shewed themselves in the church, it was with as much pomp and ostentation as possible. They were sumptuously dressed, and surrounded by a host of sacristans, choristers, and musicians. Their churches, the largest and most magnificent in the country, are richly ornamented with sculpture and gilt mouldings; a proof that they spent in these objects a portion of the wealth of the community. There was nothing very remarkable in the appearance of their houses, but they contained spacious stores.

With regard to the Indians, I can state from personal observation that the population of the Jesuit settlements was very insignificant. Ignorance was prevalent in them, as none of the Indians understood Spanish, and few could either read or write. They learned no science; and, with respect to arts and trades, they made but little progress under the tuition of those Jesuits who had been sent from Europe to teach them.

They went barefooted; the females, without exception, wore only a chemise without sleeves, tied round the waist with a band; this chemise was

made of the coarse linen manufactured by the Indians, through which the whole body was visible. They tied up their hair pig-tail fashion, but it was loosened on entering the church. The men had their hair cropped short, and wore a cotton cap, a shirt, trousers, and poncho of the same material.

All the Indians, subject to the same chief, lived in one room, of proportionate dimensions; but they were afterwards divided into families. They had neither beds nor furniture of any kind. They were christened and taught the Lord's commandments, which every boy and girl was obliged to repeat daily, before the church; but, according to the clergymen who succeeded the Jesuits, their religious notions were very superficial. Nevertheless, when seen at church, the deportment of these Indians is grave and decorous.

In 1760 the Jesuits were replaced by two monks in each mission, with an administrator, or temporal ruler of the community; so that the government of the settlements only changed hands. But, as the Jesuits considered them to be their own property, they loved them, and, far from destroying

them, laboured to improve them; while those who have succeeded them, aware that their power was only temporary, thought of nothing but taking advantage of the present moment. The consequence of this is, that the Indians are neither so well fed nor clothed as they were formerly, while their labour has been greatly increased.

The royal treasury has never derived any profit from these settlements. But it cannot be denied that, since the departure of the Jesuits, some of the Indians have become more civilized, and enjoy greater comforts through their trade and cattle. Generally speaking, civilization has somewhat progressed among them; they dress in the Spanish fashion, and acquire small properties. But, as the peculiar management of the Jesuits is wanting, half their towns are deserted, the Indians having dispersed in every direction, and mingled with the Spaniards.

In order to give an idea of the character and disposition of the Guaranis, of the present state of their civilization, and of that to which they had reached during the Jesuits' rule, I shall give here some

random observations made while visiting their settlements.

Though fond of filling a government situation, the Indians have no objection to descend to the lowest occupations, so little do they prize distinctions and honours, and so imperfect is their notion of personal degradation. Larceny is considered by them to be a display of skill, which they lose no opportunity of practising; but they never use violence, nor do they steal objects of great value. They are easily led astray. When an administrator wishes to punish severely a boy or a woman, the task is generally assigned to the father or husband, for no one can execute it better. Indeed, an Indian never declines doing what he is ordered.

Indians are addicted to intoxication. If a person travelling in their company, and in advance of them, misses the right road, they never inform him of the fact; it is, therefore, necessary always to let them precede you, and alone. They bear very patiently the inclemencies of the weather, bites of insects, hunger, &c.; are fond of tournaments, games, festivals, and races; but are very careless

of, and cruel towards, their horses. They rear poultry and pigs, as well as cats and dogs. They are indolent and dirty, and have a great aversion for medicines of all kinds, particularly for injections, to which they prefer death. When they feel ill, they lie down in their hammocks; a fire is placed by their side, and the sufferer remains without speaking, and without food. They die exempt from any concern for those they leave behind, and having no fear regarding their own future lot. For death, indeed, they entertain a thorough contempt. I have seen them go to the gallows with as much coolness as to a wedding.

It only remains to state that the Jesuits attempted to subdue also the Chaco Indians; but as this could not be effected by the Guarani troops at their command, they adopted the ecclesiastical means already described. By these means they formed several settlements recorded in their histories, of which only a few are now in existence near the town of Santa Fé, namely, that of San Javier, and those which follow in one of the preceding tables.

MISCELLANEOUS OBSERVATIONS.

THE OLD BUCCANEERS, REDIVIVI.

My manner has been always civil to the reckless desperadoes who haunt Paraguay, and who have heard by some means that I have command of capital. Various proposals therefore have been made me to join in money-making schemes that might turn out of enormous profit, but are attended by desperate risk. Enterprizes of this sort just suit these bravoes, who give me an idea of the sort of men the old buccaneers were. Indeed I think the spirit of such freebooters is not extinct, but has been continued down to this time. If some of their proposals had been conducted with prudence and ability, I have little doubt immense profits might have been realized; of course putting respectability out of the question.

Among others, the following was laid before

me. Of course the real names are suppressed. A nearly new barque, belonging to a highly respected and wealthy alderman of London, had been freighted with a cargo worth thirty-eight thousand pounds, and despatched to Lima, in South America. In trying to double Cape Horn she had lost her rudder, and put back with difficulty to Monte Video, the nearest civilized port where she could procure the necessary repairs. In the present state of Monte Video the expense of these repairs was enormous, and in a short time were run up to the amount of fifteen hundred pounds.

The captain having no funds at command, and not liking to detain the vessel until he received an answer from England, which could only be after an interval of five months, determined to raise the sum by a bottomry bond, his only alternative being to break bulk, and sell a sufficient quantity of cargo to pay the expenses incurred. As I was cognizant of the whole affair I was shewn the tenders as they came in, the lowest being fifty-five per cent! Considering this to be a safe and legiti-

mate transaction, I offered to advance the money, if I could see my way clear, at an adequate per centage, though much less than was demanded by the people here. Upon consulting good authority, I found everything satisfactory, except that the money was payable at the ship's destination, Lima. Of course, therefore, I declined it.

On the following day the money was procured at the rate of fifty-five per cent, and gave the lender a free passage round Cape Horn to Lima, to enable him to receive it there. Here was tolerable good interest, and, barring the sea risk, perfectly safe, as the cargo was worth thirty-eight thousand pounds, and the vessel at least four thousand more.

The following may likewise give a good idea of the wonderful profits to be made out here by an active and intelligent man, and the fearful losses which ship-owners may suffer by trusting their vessels to the command of unsteady, incompetent, or cheap masters. The names are suppressed for obvious reasons, but I can vouch for the exact truth of the details.

A brig was despatched from a town in the river Ribble, Lancashire, to take in a cargo of guano, in Patagonia. The master, a shrewd, knowing man, immediately procured a cargo, and was on the point of returning, when he fell in with a fine new vessel of three hundred and twenty-seven tons, *o.m.* lying at single anchor dismantled, in a dangerous part of the coast. She was legally sold at auction, by a committee of merchant masters, and bought by him for one hundred pounds. It is quite impossible she could have been reduced to this strait without the grossest ignorance or mismanagement of her master. The knowing master of the other vessel succeeded in bringing his newly-acquired purchase safe to Monte Video, and has put her into a complete state of efficiency for a sum, including purchase-money, and one hundred pounds more that he was obliged to give for an anchor and chain, under one thousand pounds. I have no hesitation in saying that this vessel thus refitted is worth at least four thousand pounds. I speak from personal observation. She cost therefore just one quarter of her value. This ought indeed to be a lesson to British ship-owners and a

caution, who they select to command their vessels. The three thousand pounds gained by the owners of the river Ribble brig, is due to the cleverness and ability of their own master; and is as clearly lost by the bad selection of the master chosen by the owners of the other vessel.

Ship-owners are little aware of the losses caused by an inefficient master. This hundred-pound vessel was immediately engaged to carry freight to a port in Brazil, which would not occupy her a month, for five hundred pounds! The knowing old master chuckled when he told me this, and said, "Ah, I mean to remain out here until the underwriters settle the matter; for should I take a freight home they are sure to clap their paw upon her, freight and all, and then good bye to my profit." He concluded by observing, "Well, I only want a chronometer to set me quite up." Fortunately, I was able to accommodate him, as I had one to spare, and consented to take bills for it on his owners in Lancashire; this, he told me, would be the greatest possible convenience, as he could not take up money here at a less rate of interest than fifty per cent.

CURIOUS BEETLE.

A beetle of a curious nature flew off one day, and was brought me by a seaman, who knew I was interested in such matters. As I never saw any thing like it before, and am likewise unable to find an account of it in any natural history, I venture to describe it, exactly as it appeared to me under a wine glass on the gun-room table. Length, half an inch; body and legs Indian red; wings green; two very muscular and strong hind legs; four small fore ditto; massive head, neck and jaws: but the great and distinguishing peculiarity were two long horns or antennæ, three-quarters of an inch long, with numerous joints, in shape and make between a crab's claws and the chain of a watch; the centre joint being double the length of the rest, having a small boll or bunch of jetty black feathers.

1846. L. B. M.

THE END.

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